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A German Conscript With Napoleon

A German Conscript With Napoleon

JAKOB WALTER'S RECOLLECTIONS

OF THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1806-
1807, 1809, AND 1812-1813

According to a manuscript found at Lecompton, Kansas

Edited and Translated by

OTTO SPRINGER

*Professor of Germanic Languages in the
University of Kansas*

with Historical Collaboration by

FRANK E. MELVIN

*Associate Professor of History in the
University of Kansas*

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PREFACE

Two years ago I learned through my colleague, Professor Frank E. Melvin, of the existence of a manuscript written in German and containing a private soldier's recollections of his experiences in the Napoleonic Wars. The manuscript was in the possession of Mr. Frank Walter, Postmaster of Lecompton, Kansas.

It was a strange coincidence that the writer of the document had been born and brought up in that part of Germany with which I personally happened to be best acquainted. This consideration, in addition to the general historical and human interest of the manuscript both as a record of the common soldier's life and thought and as a document from the darkest years in German history, induced me to copy the manuscript and translate it into English.

Owing to the peculiar language of the original, which revealed a mixture of Swabian dialect and Standard German, I decided to reproduce the German text as literally as possible, together with a parallel English translation. For the student of language, the most interesting linguistic traits have been summed up and commented upon in a special chapter, "The Language and Style of Walter's Chronicle." The names of towns and villages through which the soldier came on his three campaigns of 1806-1807, 1809, and 1812-1813, have been listed in the form of itineraries. A map, drawn by Professor F. A. Russell of the University of Kansas, will aid the reader in tracing the route of march, especially during the fateful Russian campaign.

It is with pleasure that I acknowledge here my obligation to Mr. Frank Walter for his generosity in permitting the use of the manuscript and of other papers, and for much helpful information concerning the author and his family.

The editor of the document is greatly indebted to Professor Frank E. Melvin, who was kind enough to write a historical appraisal of the chronicle, and who, with his inexhaustible knowl-

edge of the Napoleonic era, contributed many of the historical annotations and made valuable suggestions for others.

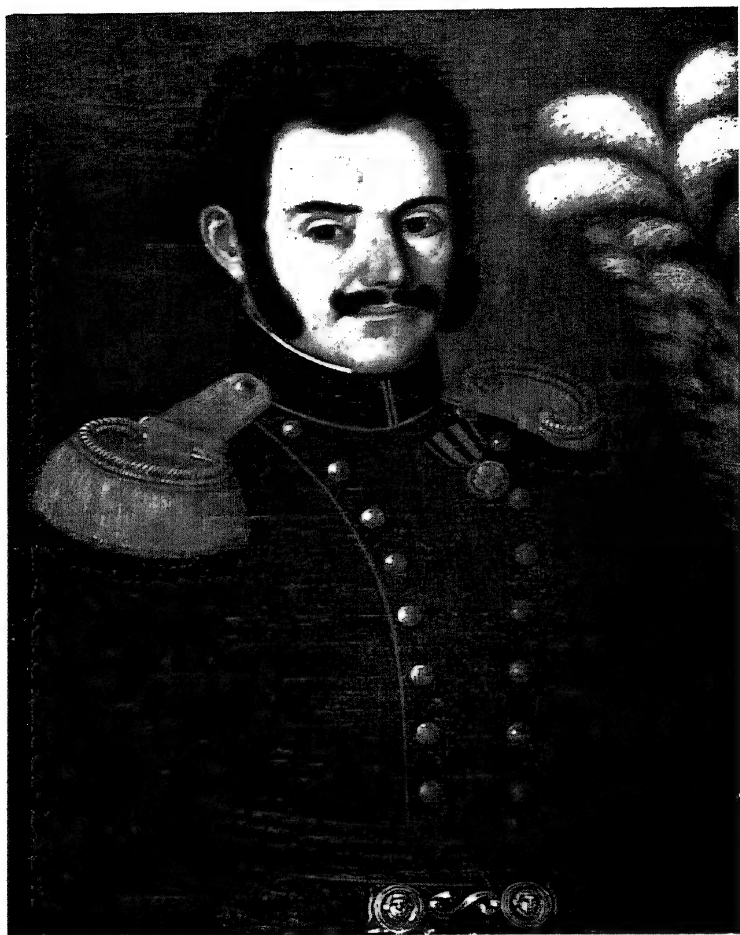
Special thanks are due to the Graduate Research Committee and its Chairman, Dean E. B. Stouffer, for an additional grant that makes possible the publication of this book; to the Humanistic Studies Committee, in particular to Professor Arthur Tappan Walker, the Chairman, for accepting the manuscript for the Humanistic Studies of the University of Kansas as Vol. VI, No. 3; and to Professor Clyde K. Hyder, the Editor of this series, for his generous sacrifice of time and effort during the preparation of this volume. I am also grateful to His Excellency, Lt. General Friedrich von Boetticher, of the German Embassy in Washington, to Dr. Pantlen of the Army Archives in Stuttgart, to Mr. Koelle, Mayor of the town of Ellwangen, and to my friend, Dr. George J. Metcalf, now of Washington University, St. Louis, for their helpful coöperation. I also wish to thank some of my students in the University of Kansas, L. Doolittle, W. C. Farmer, K. F. Krauss, W. J. Truxal, R. Weed, for much valuable service, and to express my gratitude to the Staff of the Journalism Press, and to Mr. E. G. Stith, the printer, who with the present volume has set up fifteen numbers of the Humanistic Studies of the University of Kansas.

Lawrence, Kansas
November, 1938

O. S.

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JAKOB WALTER AT THE AGE OF FIFTY

DENKWÜRDIGE GESCHICHTESCHREIBUNG ÜBER
DIE ERLEBTE MILLITÄRDIENTSTZEIT DES
VERFASSERS DIESES SCHREIBENS

MEMORABLE HISTORY OF THE MILITARY SERVICE
EXPERIENCED BY THE WRITER OF
THIS CHRONICLE

FELDZUG VON 1812. U: 1813.

Im Monat Janur 1811.¹ wurde in die Garnison Schorndorf² einberufen, von wo der Marsch über Kalb, Wisterroth u: Oehringen gieng, in den Ortschaften um Oehringen blieben die Regimenter 4. bis 5. Tag ligen, biss die Feldbeschau in Oehringen über uns Absalvierte, von da marschirte das ganze Chor über Kinzelsau Merkentheim, Weigerschheim, und über das Würtzburgische,³ wo es allgemein heisst es gehe nach Spanien⁴ wir werden im Ostsee eingeschift.⁵ Ungeachtet keine guten Aussichten schienen war ich und alle Soldaten ganz Lustig, Sangen und Tanzten immer, besonder da über das schöne würzburger Land die beste Quatire und Essen und Drünken, besonders des vielen Weins wegen, ganz gut waren so, das jeder seine Feldflaschen freiwillig bei dem Abmarsch mit Wein und die Daschen mit Gebakwerk gefüllt wurden, überdiess machten einen jeden die schöne Oerter an dem Meinfluss frohe Gemüther welche mit Weinwachs, Obstbäume, und Feldfrüchten umschlossen sind.⁶

Im Mitte des Merz gieng der Marsch über Sachskopburg wo eine Waldige und bergige Gegend anfang,⁷ besonders viel Tanenwald in diesem Gebirk kamen wir in ein Thal welches aus dem Thüringer Wald herauszog in welchem alle 2.-300. Schritte eine Seegmihle war und inzwischen kleine Dörfchen. Als sich das Thal rechts, und unser Marsch links zihte mussten wir hoh wie an einem Dach hinaufsteigen wo es durch den eigent-

¹ Walter by mistake writes 1811, instead of 1812; he also leaves out *ich* after *wurde*.— Napoleon's decree that the members of the Confederation of the Rhine should have their troops mobilized by February 15, 1812, for the imminent war, had been issued on December 11, 1811.

² Schorndorf, a town in Württemberg, 16 miles E. of Stuttgart. The Württemberg. Lieutenant Karl von Suckow tells the following incident of the last days at Schorndorf: "So erinnere ich mich, dass wir bei Anwesenheit unseres Brigadegenerals v. Hügel zum Behufe der Musterung des Bataillons diesem Vorgesetzten ein Festdiner im goldenen Hirsch [in Schorndorf] veranstalteten. Was war natürlicher, als dass sich dabei die Unterhaltung grösstenteils um unsere bevorstehende Aufgabe drehte! Der General warnte, sich doch ja keinen Illusionen hinzugeben und auf alle Eventualitäten männlich gefasst zu sein. Ein junger Leutnant war jedoch anderer Meinung; er nahm die Sache sehr leicht und versicherte etwas vorlaut: 'So einen russischen Feldzug machte ich ebenso leicht mit wie ich ein Butterbrot esse!' Der General ward auf diese Aeusserung sehr ernst und erwiderte: 'Herr Leutnant, ich will Sie an dieses Butterbrot erinnern!' Und wahrlich, er hielt Wort, wie wir später hören werden." P. Holzhausen, *Die Deutschen in Russland 1812*, 5. Aufl. (Berlin, 1924), part I, pp. 7 f.

³ Kalw or Calw, a town in Württemberg, 20 miles SW. of Stuttgart (but the march

CAMPAIGN OF 1812 AND 1813

In the month of January, 1812, I was recalled to the garrison of Schorndorf. From here the line of march went through Calw, Wüstenroth, and Oehringen. In the villages about Oehringen the regiments remained four or five days until the inspection was completed in Oehringen. From here the entire corps marched through Künzelsau, Mergentheim, Weikersheim, and through the Würzburg district, where it was generally rumored that we were going to Spain and would embark on the Baltic Sea. Although the outlook did not seem good, I and all the soldiers were very merry, always singing and dancing, especially since throughout the entire Würzburg country the quarters and eating and drinking were very good, particularly because of the large supply of wine, so that everyone voluntarily had his field flask filled with wine and his pockets with cookies at the time of departure. Moreover, the beautiful villages on the Main River, surrounded by vineyards, fruit trees, and grain fields, put everyone in a happy mood.

About the middle of March, the army continued on its way through Saxe-Coburg, where a wooded and mountainous region began; the pine trees were especially plentiful. In these mountains we came upon a valley which led out of the Thuringian Forest. In this valley there were sawmills every two or three hundred paces, and between them were little hamlets. When the valley turned to the right and our march to the left, as it

cannot possibly have gone through this town); Wüstenroth, a village 13 miles E. of Heilbronn; Oehringen, 14 miles NE. of Heilbronn; Künzelsau, 24 miles NE. of Heilbronn; Mergentheim, in the NE. corner of Württemberg, 56 miles from Stuttgart; and Weikersheim, on the Tauber, 38 miles N. of Ellwangen.

⁴ To the war with the Spanish insurgents, which had begun in 1808 and ended with Wellington's victory at Toulouse, April 10, 1814.

⁵ The feminine *die See*, "sea, ocean," is not used in Swabian dialect, only *der See*, which means a "small inland lake"; the "ocean" is always called *das Meer*. This use explains the wrong article here and in notes 305 and 313. Cf. *Schwäbisches Wörterbuch*, hgg. von H. Fischer (Tübingen, 1904-1936), V, 1298 f. Lake of Constance, on the other hand, is treated as a feminine (see note 347), but even this usage is not without parallels. Cf. *Schwäb. Wb.*, V, 1299.

⁶ *Feldfrüchte* as well as *Frucht* refers to grain in Swabian dialect, while the fruit of trees is usually called *Obst* or is specified as *Aepfel*, *Birnen*, etc. Cf. *Schwäb. Wb.*, II, 1795 ff.

⁷ Coburg, capital of the former duchy of Coburg in Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, in Thuringia.

lichen turinger Wald nach Saxweinmar gieng.⁸ In diesem Großen Wald lag noch 2'. tief Schnee wehrend auf dem ganzen Marsch keiner mehr zu sehen war. In mitte des Walds war ein Thürgartten welcher 12'. hoh mit Dihlen beheb⁹ vermacht und 1. Stunde lang war, die Stadt lag dann eine Stunde davon im Thal wo wir übernachteten. Von Weinmar gieng der Weeg etwas links, noch über einige Städte vor Leipzig und im April drafen wir in Leipzig ein.

In der Stadt Leipzig sahe man was nun werden wird, da es mit Franzhosen¹⁰ durch die Thore herein kam was da schliefen konte.¹¹ Obgleich in Leipzig es gepresst voll mit Millitär war, und ich mit 150. Mann in einem Quartier war, der Wirth dem wir zugetheilt waren, hat uns alle in ein Gebäude — hehmaliges Tiatergebäude, welches ein Saal von 100'. lang 60'. breit war verlegt, so das 3. fache Reihen Tafeln mit ganz schönen Gedek bereitet und voll mit Bier Brandwein, Butter, Kees und weisem Brod da stand.¹² nach dem alles sich gesezt hatte ass u: drank alles womach gleich die 8. Diner das warme Essen brachten, welches in einer weisen Suppe zweierlei Fleisch, mehrlei Gemiss und noch kaltes zum Nachdisch aufgesezt wurden, sodann den ganzen Nachmittag das Drünken im Ueberfluss aufgesezt blieb. Hier blieben wür 2. Tage biss die Marschruthe Kolloneweis aufgetheilt und der Abmarsch befohlen wurde.

Von Leipzig aus wurden wegen der ungeheuren Folgsmenge¹³ die Quatier etwass schlechter und der Marsch draf nach Torgau.¹⁴ In Torgau war ich im Jahr 1807, unter welcher Zeit diese Stadt als neue Vestung erbaut wurde. Um diese Stadt welche eine Stunde im Umlauf hatte wurden 2. Walgräben und dazu 4. Ströbmäuren von lauter schön gehauenen Quatersteine, welche alle auf der Elbe aus Böhmen hergeschifft wurden, angelegt. Besonders war ich aufmerksam auf dieses neue und grosse

⁸ Weimar, capital of the former grand duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach; in the above spelling the name is wrongly associated with German Wein.

⁹ Beheb, "tight, close," a word typical of Swabian dialect; according to Schwäb. Wb., I, 767 f., however, northeastern Württemberg, including Ellwangen, seems to use only the synonymous form gehäbe, an assumption which can hardly be verified.

¹⁰ Franz-hosen, "French pants," a play on the name of the archenemy of Germany. The pun was heard again during the World War. Cf. also Schwäb. Wb., II, 1699 f.

went through the Thuringian Forest itself to Saxe-Weimar, we had to climb high as if up a roof. In this huge forest, snow still lay two feet deep, though during the whole march no more was to be seen. In the middle of the forest was a game park which was tightly enclosed with planks to a height of twelve feet and which was about an hour's walk long. The city where we afterwards spent the night lay about an hour's walk away in the valley. From Weimar we turned somewhat to the left, continued through a few cities toward Leipsic, and in April entered Leipsic.

In the city of Leipsic anyone could see what was going to happen, since as many "Frenchies" as could slip through came crowding through the gates. Leipsic was packed with soldiers, and I was in quarters with 150 men; yet the landlord to whom we were assigned put us all in one building, the former theater building, which was a hall 100 feet long and 60 feet wide. Triple rows of tables stood ready in the hall, very beautifully set and loaded with beer, brandy, butter, cheese, and white bread. After all had sat down, everybody ate and drank while eight servants brought in the warm meal, which consisted of white soup, two kinds of meat, and several kinds of vegetables. In addition, something cold was served for dessert, and drinks were served in abundance throughout the whole afternoon. We stayed here two days until the line of march formed by columns and the departure was ordered.

After leaving Leipsic, we found the quarters somewhat worse on account of the huge army of soldiers, and the march turned toward Torgau. I had been in Torgau in 1807. In the meantime the city had built new fortifications. About the city, which it took an hour to walk around, there had been added two moats and besides four buttressed walls of nothing but beautifully hewn stones which had been shipped down the Elbe from Bo-

¹¹ *Schließen* is an archaic word meaning "to slip, to creep." See notes 33, 169, and 218.

¹² White bread to the present day is considered a great luxury in Swabia.

¹³ *Volks-* in the archaic sense of "army." Cf. M. Heyne, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1895), III, 1287 f. See note 46.

¹⁴ Torgau, town in the province of Saxony, on the Elbe, 31 miles NE. of Leipsic.

Gemäuer da ich es als ein Maurer u: Steinhauer betrachten konte¹⁵ worbei ich sahe, dass diese Mäuren jede 10'. dik — hinter derselben alle 10'. lang ein Pfeiler gegen die Erde gesezt und jeder Pfeiler auch wieder 10'. dik und 10'. lang wurde, besonders sahe ich auch die schöne Verbündung der Steine wovon die mehrsten Steine 10'. lang u: 3'. im Quatrat waren und der Länge nach über die Tiefe der Mauer gelegt worden sind. Auch über der Elbe dariben gegen Osten waren Kassamaten welche ganz von schönsten Quatern und sogar das Dachwerk davon erbaut sind.

Es gieng also weiter und wir kamen nach Firstenwalde einer mittelbedeutenten Stadt im Brandenburgischen,¹⁶ es war die Gegend wo mein Regiment 1807. im Standquatier 11. Wochen lag,¹⁷ worbei viele von uns besuchten ihre alte Hauss hern, auch mehrer Weibsleuthe fanden ihre ehemals geliebte Soldaten, obgleich sich mehrer ursache halber verschleiften und dem Namen Vatter wegen nicht gefunden werden wolten. Ich kam in dieser Stadt zu einen Bierbrauer (Krug) ins Quatier und blieben einige Tage hier ligen.¹⁸ Es wurde auch die Gelegenheit benützt alle Soldaten zur Kumonion einzuladen worzu bei dem Cohr 4. Katholische u: 4. Lutherische Geistliche von Haus aus mitgegeben worden sind. Die Kirche war Lutherisch, wir hielten aber den Katholischen Gottesdienst auch darin, ich Kumonizierte also auch.¹⁹ Hier hatten wir noch viele Munterkeit, Sangen und lebten frohen muths, obwohl wir den Auserortentlichen Feldzug uns vorzustellen wussten, allein jeder glaubt u: hofit jederzeit das Beste. Ich sah mich auch mit meinem Sabel vor indem ich ihn bei einem Dreher ganz scharf geschlifen und wegen dem Abbrechen Ausgeglüht habe. In diesem Städtchen sahe ich auch in der ostlichen Vorstadt ein Wohnhaus welches mit lauther, in den Rigelfeldern querligenden Beinern ausgefült, und statt gemauert, in das Moss eingelegt waren, überhaupt ist die Bauart in

¹⁵ In the Family Registers of Ellwangen, I, 372, Jakob Walter is referred to as a "Bal-lier" by trade, i.e., Polier, "foreman of masons, bricklayers, etc." The settlement of the estate of his widow on May 31, 1873, calls him "Werkmeister." His son, Franz Patritz, who came to the United States and who kept the manuscript, had learned the same trade, as his passport of March 6, 1849, indicates: "Steinhauer." After his arrival in this coun-

hemia. These new huge walls especially attracted my attention, since I could examine them as a mason and a stonecutter; and so I saw that each of them was ten feet thick and that buttresses were set into the ground every ten feet behind them, each of them in turn ten feet thick and ten feet long. I noticed especially the beautiful jointing of the stones, most of which were ten feet long and three feet square and had been laid over the wall lengthwise. On the other side of the Elbe there were also casements facing eastward, which were all, even the roofwork, built of beautifully hewn stone.

And then we went farther and came to Fürstenwalde, a fairly important city in the Brandenburg district. It was the region where my regiment had lain in fixed quarters for eleven weeks in 1807, and so many of us went to see our former landlords; several women also found their once beloved soldiers, although several men were hiding for good reason and did not wish to be found for fear they would be called a father. In this city I was quartered with a beer brewer. We stayed there several days. The opportunity was also taken to invite soldiers to communion, for which four Catholic and four Lutheran clergymen had been sent along with the corps from home. The church was Lutheran, but we held the Catholic services there, too; so I participated in the communion. We were still very lively in this town, singing and living cheerfully, although we could imagine the unusual campaign before us; but everyone always believes in, and hopes for, the best. I also looked after my saber and made it very sharp at a turner's and tempered it in fire so that it would not break off. I saw in the eastern suburb of this little town a house, the timber framing of which was filled with bones; instead of being walled in, these bones had moss

try, he first found work as a stonemason on the new custom house in New Orleans. See p. 186.

¹⁶ Fürstenwalde, in Brandenburg, on the Spree, 21 miles W. of Frankfort-on-the-Oder.

¹⁷ See note 331.

¹⁸ *Krug* in the sense of "inn, tavern" is unknown in Swabian dialect. It strikes Walter as so unusual that again and again he mentions the word in parentheses. Cf. J. und W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, V, 2434 ff., and Kluge-Götze, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin und Leipzig, 1934), p. 332.

¹⁹ Walter was a Catholic. See p. 186, and notes 335, 377.

dieser Gegend von geringen Ansehen und Güte, so das mit dem Feldebau gleiches Verhältniss erachtet wird. Der Marsch gieng von da nach Frankforth an der Oder worin 3. Tagelang einquartiert und halt gemacht worden ist, hier musste schon mit geringer Kost und Komiesbrod verlieb genommen auch am Himelfarthstage Exerziert werden, worbei General Hügel²⁰ Sr. Königl Hohheit dem Kronprinzen²¹ erinnern wolte heute nicht zu Exerzieren do es ein Fest seie, der Kronprinz aber gab die Antwort, ich thue es ihnen He. General zum gefallen und schike Sie nicht in Arrest, glaben Sie ich wisse nicht was vor ein Tag es seye! Diese ungehaltene Stimmung unsers Kronprinzen mag wohl die Uebergabe des Württenberger Kors an General Neu²² verursacht haben, da Neu einen Tag zuvor uns unter seine 25te Difision u: 3te Armeekorps eingetheilt hatte,²³ und unser Kronprinz dadurch seiner Ehre halber in Unwillen uns bekleidete.²⁴

Von Frankfort wurde der Marsch nach Polen dem Ort Reppen fortgesetzt wo die Teutsche sprache aufhörte, und Sitten und Kultur ein sonderheitliches Aussehen machte.²⁵ Es war im Monat May und sonderbar flog es mit Maykefern, so das Abens eim die Augen offen zu haben mihe kostete, die Kefer hatten der Zahl wegen die luft verfenstert und jeder hatte zu thun Selbe aus dem Har und Gesicht zu schitteln. Hier gieng es nun an sich selbst zu Kochen, und Lebensmittel allenthalben, jedoch unter

²⁰ The well-known General von Hügel (1774-1849), who in 1788 was Lieutenant, in 1793 First Lieutenant, 1799 Quartermaster Lieutenant, 1805 Captain, 1806 Lieutenant Colonel, 1807 Colonel, 1808 Major General (according to the Army Archives in Stuttgart). Cf. note 2 and P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part I, pp. 42 f., part II, p. 108.

²¹ The Crown Prince of Württemberg then was Wilhelm, who afterwards reigned as Wilhelm I (1816-1864).

²² A popular spelling of the name of the "Prince of the Moskowa," Marshal Ney. It is due to the fact that in Swabian dialect the German diphthongs *ei* (*ey*), *eu*, *äu* all sound alike. So Walter, in his ambition not to follow his dialect pronunciation, often writes *eu* or *äu*, even in cases in which the *ei*-pronunciation is not due to his dialect but represents standard pronunciation and spelling ("hyper-correct forms," or "überhochdeutsch").

²³ The Württemberg contingent consisted of four cavalry regiments (Light Horse Regiments No. 1 and 2), Chasseur Regiment No. 3 (Duke Louis), Chasseur Regiment No. 4 (König). One division of infantry (the 25th) under Lieutenant General von Scheler (consisting of the brigades of v. Hügel, v. Koch, and v. Brüselle, afterwards of Stockmeyer) formed part of the third army corps under Ney. They were joined, in the course of the war, by the infantry regiment stationed in Danzig and a regiment of reserves. The contingent numbered 15,800 soldiers, 3,400 horses, 32 cannon. Cf. A. Pfister, *König Friedrich von Württemberg und seine Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1888), p. 225. But cf. also A. Pfister,

between them. In general, the types of buildings in this region are of a poor appearance and quality so that a like condition may be assumed about the farming. From there the line of march turned toward Frankfort-on-the-Oder, where a halt was made. Here we were quartered for three days, and by this time we had to be contented with poor food and regiment bread. We had to drill even on Ascension Day; so General Hügel tried to remind his royal highness, the Crown Prince, not to drill, saying that it was a holiday. The Crown Prince, however, gave this answer: "I will do you a favor, General, and not arrest you. Do you think I don't know what day it is?" This indignant mood of our Crown Prince might well have been caused by the transfer of the Württemberg corps to General Ney, since the day before Ney had attached us to his 25th division and the 3rd army corps; and our Crown Prince, therefore, accompanied us with a feeling of injured honor.

From Frankfort the march was continued to Poland through the village of Reppen, where the use of the German language stopped, and the manners and culture made a strange impression. It was the month of May, and the air swarmed with May bugs so amazingly that it was hard to keep your eyes open in the evening. The bugs were so very thick that they darkened the atmosphere, and everyone was busy shaking them out of his face and hair. Here it became necessary for each person to seek and cook his own provisions, although foraging was forbidden. How-

Aus dem Lager des Rheinbundes, vol. I (Stuttgart, 1896). Pfister shows that these corps arrangements date back to March 24 at Gera and had been well received thereafter. If Crown Prince Wilhelm then showed the ill-humor noted by Walter during his Frankfort stay of May 2-10 (p. 33), it must have had other causes. There was, indeed, friction dating from April 15 over shiftings of Württemberg cavalry, also annoyance over transport and commissariat failings, such as the non-arrival of Württemberg zwieback wagons until May 14 (pp. 31-33), and significantly all these incidents mark the beginning of the major troubles of the 25th Division during the Moscow campaign.

²⁴In the previous paragraphs Walter first seems to have been somewhat confused concerning the route of march, but he afterwards indicated the proper order of the paragraphs. This order has been followed here.

²⁵Reppen, a town in Brandenburg (not in Poland), 12 miles E. of Frankfort-on-the-Oder. But the border between German and Polish for more than a century has been about 50 miles E. of Reppen, between Schwiebus and Bentschen. Walter's statement may be explained by the fact that Reppen was the last city of considerable size within German-speaking territory through which he came on his march into Russia. It is also possible that it was near Reppen that Walter for the first time heard a few Polish words.

Verbott zu Regwerieren, allein alles war noch voller Kraft, und der Muth lebte noch in jedem Soldaten. Von Tag zu Tag nahm nun die Noth und der Hunger zu, und es mussten von Regiment aus Vieh Regweriert und geschlachtet werden, und zu den Kartoffeln u: Griz so man noch hie und dar fünden konte,²⁶ etwass Fleisch zu haben, Brod war selten mehr und zu kaufen nichts vorhanden.

Nun kamen wir nach einer Polnischen Guvernimastadt Posen,²⁷ wo ich wie im Felzug 1807. bemerkte einen Edelman polnischen General seine Pferde Knecht und Wagen in diese Stadt mitgebracht habe.²⁸ Von da nach Kniesen auch einer bedeutenten Stadt, (wo ich ebenfalss, wie schon bemerkt 1807. auf 8. Dorfschaften Fuderage fur Napolion Abzulifern ankündigte und bereits 14. Tage daselbst zubringen musste)²⁹ in diesen Städten war es noch hie und da möglich etwass Lebensmittel einzukaufen auch noch dem Namen nach Einquatierung bestandt. Der Marsch gieng über Aslav, einer Stadt in welcher im Preischen Feldzuge desgleichen war und alle Wege in dieser Gegend noch wohl kenbar war.³⁰

Im Fronleichnamsfest³¹ rikten wir in der Stadt Thorn ein welche an dem Hauptfluss Weichsel auf der Nördlichen Seite ligt, und ich Ano 1807. auch schon darinen war.³² Hier sah man erst alle Chors zusammen ströhmén, alle Thore stekten sich und unter vollem Getreng mussten die Regimenter durch die Gassen schliefen,³³ wir bekamen noch Quartiere, mussten jedoch von unserm gefassten Fleisch u: Brod unser Essen selbst bereiten, das Fleisch kam aus dem Magazin der eingesalzenen Eisgruben und es wahr die Sage das solches Fleisch noch von dem Krieg 1807. bis her aufbewahrt wurde, wass der Zustand des Fleisches

²⁶ I.e., Grütz m. (usually Grütze f.), "grob gemahlene, ausgehülste Getreidekörner," M. Heyne, Dt. Wb. (Leipzig, 1890), I, 1271.

²⁷ Posen or Poznan, now capital of the Polish province of Poznan. At the first partition of Poland in 1772, the province had fallen to the share of Prussia; but in 1807, after the peace of Tilsit, it was merged with the grand duchy of Warsaw. *Guvernimastadt* is phonetic spelling. Napoleon arrived at Posen on May 30, 1812. Cf. A. Schuermans, *Itinéraire général de Napoléon I* (Paris, 1908), p. 302.

²⁸ See note 296.

²⁹ Gnesen, Polish Gniezno, 30 miles ENE. of Posen. See note 286. There Walter speaks of eight days only.

³⁰ Inowrazlav, or Inowracław, about 22 miles SW. of Thorn, called Hohensalza after

ever, everyone still had his full strength, and courage was still alive in every soldier. But from day to day privation and hunger increased, and it became necessary for the regiment to requisition and slaughter livestock so that the men could have some meat in addition to the potatoes and grits which they found here and there. Bread was rare, and there was nothing at hand to buy.

Now we came to a Polish government town, Posen, to which I had brought the horses, wagons, and servants of a Polish general in the campaign of 1807. From there we went to Gnesen, also an important city, where I, likewise in 1807, had announced in eight villages that food must be delivered for Napoleon and where I had had to spend almost two weeks. In these towns it was still possible to buy provisions here and there, and supposedly quarters were still available there. The march continued through [Inowr]azlav, also a city where I had been during the Prussian campaigns, and all the roads of this district were still well-known to me.

On Corpus Christi Day we marched into the city of Thorn, which lies on the northern bank of the Vistula River, another city in which I had been during the year of 1807. Here for the first time we saw all the corps streaming together. All the gates were jammed, and the regiments had to wind through the streets in a great throng. We still obtained quarters. However, we had to prepare our own food from our rationed meat and bread. The meat came from the salted ice pits; there was a rumor that it had been stored from the war of 1807 — the condition of the

1905. The German soldier, Walter, mistook the first part of the name, Inowr-, for German Ober-, "upper." See notes 241, 286.

³¹ On May 28, 1812. Napoleon arrived there on June 2 (Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 302). But the Vistula-crossing headquarters of the 3rd Corps and 25th Division had already been established at Thorn, and the high-pressure requisitioning of supplies, for which Württemberg cavalry was used, had raised a storm of Polish protests. These outcries brought imperial reprimands for Ney and his men during Napoleon's stay at Thorn, June 2-6, and seriously contributed to the difficulties of the Württembergers thereafter. Cf. A. Pfister, *Rheinbund*, I, 33-42. See also notes 23, 39.

³² Thorn, 85 miles NE. of Posen. Thorn had been seized by Prussia at the second partition of Poland but was returned to the grand duchy of Warsaw in 1807. Here Copernicus was born in 1472 and his monument in the Church of St. John was noticed by Castellane, *Journal*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1896), I, 100, who mentions details from his visit to the church on June 6 other than those noticed by Walter a week earlier. See note 286.

³³ See note 11.

auch glaubwüthig machte, indem Solches ganz schwarzblau aussah, und scharf wahr, wie Heringe, so das es ungesotten schon zum Essen weich genug wahr und nur wegen Abziehen der Salzsäure einige Süthe bekam und das Wasser sodan ohne zur Suppe brauchen zu können abgeschüttet werden musste.

Da wir im Fohnleichtnamsfest in Thorn blieben, so machte ich mich auch in die Predigt in der grossen Stadtkirche, was mir ein seltsames Anhören war als der Prediger Polnisch redete und ich nichts Verstand, auch bestieg ich den Hohen dicken Thurm welcher mehrere hundert Dreppen hatte, und beschaute die 8. Glocken, darunter die grösste Gloke eine Schwinkel hatte der länger war als ich, es leinthe nämlich ein gleichgrosser Schwinkel an der mauer etwass Schief, und ich konte ihn nicht an dem Obertheil von der Wand zihen. Diese Stadt wurde seit meinen Sehen 1807. in eine Vestung verbessert so das Nebenhöhen abgegraben, und die Wähle—jedoch nur mit BalkenHölzer stat Masifen mauren, aufgebohlt, und mit Sand hinterfilt waren.

Nun führte uns der Befehl von Thorn ab nach Mariapol.³⁴ Der Weg gieng³⁵ weiter nach Seeburg, Bischofstein, und Lagarben, die Wege waren Sandig und der Staub überzog eim die Kleitung.³⁶ es gieng dan nach dem Orth Lövenstein wo als sonderbare Ansicht in die 30. Storchennester zu zehlen waren, alle bereits sind auf grosen Weitenbäumen genestert und Stiegen in den Sümpfen, wie bei uns die Gänze Haufenweis umher.³⁷ Weiters führte der Weg durch Nordenburg, Dorkehmen. Dan nach einem Städtchen Kulvary welches auf einer ebenen Fläche in oeder Gegend lag,³⁸ hier wurde blos Mittaghalt gemacht und Niemand hatte was zu Essen, da man sich in der Noth alles erlauben muss so konte auch hier das ohne hin schon Ausgeblinterte Städtchen nicht unbesucht bleiben, alle Soldaten liefen nach Wasser, Esswaren, und so wurde auch den Einwohnern das Ver-

³⁴ Mariapol, or Maryampol, 36 miles NE. of Suwalki.

³⁵ In the manuscript this and the following two sentences, as far as *Dorkehmen*, follow immediately the words *zu kaufen nichts vorhanden*; but the writer indicated that they were in the wrong place there. Seeburg, Bischofstein, Lagarben, Löventin-See, Nordenburg, and Darkehmen all lie between Thorn and Mariapol. See the Map.

³⁶ Seeburg, a town of East Prussia, 11 miles SW. of Bischofstein; Bischofstein, 46

meat made the rumor seem credible, since the meat appeared bluish-black and was sharp as herrings. It was already tender enough to eat, and we boiled it a few times only to draw off the muriatic acid; and then the broth, not being useful for soup, had to be thrown out.

Since we stayed in Thorn on Corpus Christi Day, I attended the service in the great City Church, where I heard what was to me a very unusual sermon, because it was given in Polish and I could not understand anything of it. I also climbed the high, broad tower, which had more than a hundred steps, and saw the eight bells. The largest bell had a clapper that was taller than I was. An equally large clapper leaned against the wall, and I could not pull it by its upper part from the wall. This city had been improved as a fortress since my visit in 1807. The near-by heights were dug away, and ramparts were built, although with only wooden beams filled in between with sand instead of massive walls.

Now the orders led us from Thorn to Mariampol. The march there went through Seeburg, Bischofstein, and Lagarben. The roads were sandy, and dust covered our clothing. Thence we went to a village called Löwentin, where we saw a strange sight: we could count as many as thirty stork nests; almost all the storks had nested in tall willow trees and stalked around the swamps in flocks like the geese at home. The route led us on through Nordenburg and Darkehmen. Then we came to a little town known as Kalvaria, which lay on a dead-level in a barren region. Here only a noon halt was made, and no one had anything to eat. Since all is allowed to necessity, this little town, although already plundered, could not remain unsearched. All the soldiers ran for food and water, and it so happened that what

miles SSE. of Königsberg; and Lagarben, Laggarben, or Lamgarben, 20 miles E. of Bischofstein.

³⁷ This and the swamps mentioned here must refer to the Löwentin-See, 25 miles E. of Lagarben. In spelling the name — *Löbenstein* corrected to *Löwentin* — the writer probably thought of *Löwenstein*, a well-known town about 40 miles W. of his native town, Ellwangen.

³⁸ Nordenburg, a town in East Prussia, 50 miles SE. of Königsberg; Darkehmen, 20 miles E. of Nordenburg; and Kalwaria, or Kalwarya, 24 miles NE. of Suwalki, just beyond the Prussian-Polish border.

steke an Vorrath aufgefunden und in das Lager gebracht obgleich es Polnisch und Freundesland war.³⁹ Ueberdies beklagten sich die Einwohner von der Stadt bei unsern Kronprinzen worauf Befehl kam, der erste Soldat so aus dem Lager geht werde erschossen, ich traf jedoch noch zu rechter Zeit zurück ein, der Ernst unseres Kronprinzen wahr so hoch gestiegen, das Er mit dem Pistol⁴⁰ vor die Front ritt und mehreren Soldaten den Schuss auf die Brust hielt wo man glauben musste mehrere werden Erschossen werden, allein die Noth nichts zu essen zu haben mag der Einhalt gewesen sein.

Täglich vermehrten sich die Strapazen, und an kein Brod war nicht zu denken, mein Obrist sprach einst zu uns, wir hätten kein Brod mehr zu Hofen bis wir über die Feindes Grenze kommen werden, höchstens erhielte man noch manchmal etwas dürrer Kūhlfleisch⁴¹ und der Hunger machte das Ausgraben der Aufgekeimten Kartoffeln in den Aekern nöthig, die aber ganz Süß und bereits Unessbar waren. Auch hörte man allenthalben das sich Elend wegen schon mehrere Leuthe verschossen hatten,⁴² besonders hatte sich in selbigen Tag darauf ein Ofizier den Hals abgeschnitten. Endlich kamen wir an dem Fluss Niemen an wo die russische Grenze war, die Stadt hies Ponienon.⁴³ Alles war in Freude einmal die Russen und die Grenze zusehen, wir lagerten

³⁹ Here as elsewhere Walter supplies illuminating historical evidence concerning the relations of the Württemberg troops with imperial headquarters. See notes 23, 31. One of the underlying causes of friction was the ever-jealous regard of the Württemberg princes for their interests. Moreover, difficulties in previous campaigns had after-effects. Thus in 1812 one source of friction was the appointment of General Lagrange, who had been exposed to the bickerings of the Vorarlberg campaign of 1809, as imperial liaison officer with the Prince Royal's staff, a position where he could report any disaffection for the imperial cause. He observed the resentment felt over Napoleon's arbitrary way of disposing of vassal forces, such as the detaching of a *Jägerregiment* at Frankfort about April 14. H. de Roos, *Avec Napoléon en Russie* (Paris, 1913), p. 13; A. Pfister, *Rheinbund*, I, 30-35. But these significant factors do not themselves explain the crisis reached at the moment of the Niemen crossing. After all, there was real justification for Napoleon's strong reactions to the excesses of Ney's corps, particularly of those Württemberg units already compromised at Thorn (June 3-4), who continued, despite all warnings, to provoke bitter complaints because of foraging excesses, disregard of route orders, and general indiscipline. Cf. *Napoléon I. Correspondance; publiée par ordre de l'empereur Napoléon III* (Paris, 1858-1869), vol. XXIV, nos. 18772, 18809, 18813 (June 16), and 18839 (June 20); P. P. Ségur, *Histoire de Napoléon et de la grande-armée pendant l'année 1812* (Bruxelles, 1825), I, 77-80, 279; A. J. F. Fain, *Manuscrit de mil huit cent douze* (Bruxelles, 1827), I, 69. — In truth, marching conditions without provision of proper food, water, or provided quarters were responsible for widespread disorders by the armies crossing Poland and Prussia, disorders which demanded quick re-

provisions the inhabitants had hidden were found and brought into the camp, even though it was Polish country and, therefore, friendly. Because of this fact, the inhabitants of the town complained to our Crown Prince; and, therefore, the command came that the first soldier who thus left camp would be shot. I returned to the camp, however, just in time. The determination of our Crown Prince had risen so high that he rode along the front with a pistol and held it on the breasts of some soldiers so that one might have almost believed some of them were going to be shot, but their dire need with nothing to eat may have stopped him.

Daily the hardships increased, and there was no hope of bread. My colonel spoke to us once and said that we could hope for no more bread until we crossed the enemy border. The most anyone might still get was a little lean beef, and hunger made it necessary to dig up the fields for the potatoes already sprouting, which were, however, very sweet and almost inedible. One also heard everywhere that several men had already shot themselves because of hardship: in particular, an officer had cut his throat on that very same day. Finally we came to the Memel River, where the Russian border was. The town of Poniemon was located there. Everyone rejoiced to see the Russian boundary at last. We encamped at the foot of the hill this side of

pressive action. The misconduct of the Württembergers was admittedly chronic. Cf. P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part I, pp. 18 f., Roos, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 f. This served the imperial ends. Certain "disaffected" officers were removed, others were reprimanded publicly at Poniemon, all Württemberg cavalry units were put at the service of the entire army, and the Prince Royal was placed in an uneasy position which was little bettered by resultant correspondence. He was graciously treated, however, during his critical illness which finally led him to quit his command and return home. Cf. A. Pfister, *Rheinbund*, I, 33-61, and A. v. Schlossberger, *Pol. und mil. Korrespondenz König Friedrichs von Württemberg mit Napoleon I.* (Stuttgart, 1889), pp. 246-249.

⁴⁰ *Pistol* (Standard German *die Pistole*) is treated as masculine or, by the more educated, as neuter in Swabian dialect, *Schwäb. Wb.*, I, 1141.

⁴¹ *Küh-* instead of *Kuhfleisch* in Swabian dialect, *Schwäb. Wb.*, IV, 822.

⁴² *Verschossen* instead of *erschossen*, *Schwäb. Wb.*, II, 1299 f. The prefix *er-* (and *zer-*) is very rarely used in Swabian dialect. See notes 56, 289, 291.

⁴³ Now Panemune on the River Nemunas (Niemen, Memel) in Lithuania, SE. of Kaunas (Kovno). Walter's description of the crossing of the Memel River is realistic and laconic as compared with the imposing pictures drawn by other witnesses. Cf. P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part I, pp. 21 ff.

uns an dem Berg vor dem Fluss, und jeder glaubte sich in seinem Tornister so leicht zu machen als möglich, auch ich durchsuchte meine Kleidungsstücke und warf Westen, ohnnötiges Puszeug Hosen etc: auch hinweg. Hier musste so lang halt gemacht werden bis die Pontons herbeigebracht und mehrer Briken über das Wasser geschlagen wurden. Nun glaubte man die Russen würden sich über dem Ufer halten und schlagen, allein es war nichts. Bonaparte⁴⁴ lies mit eingem Geschüz auf die Hohe Punkten der Russen abfeuren, und seine Kafalerie über das Wasser sezen, die Russen aber zogen sich nach einem kleinen Gefecht zurück.

Am 25. Juni gieng es über die Briken,⁴⁵ wir glaubten jezt in Russland nur Ernden zu türfen was aber Betrug war. Die Stadt Poniemon war schon ausgeplintert ehe wir hinkamen, degleichen alle Dörfer, hie und da sprang ein Schwein umher, welche mit Prügeln Säbeln und Baionete verschlagen, verhauen und verstoichen und öfters noch Lebendig zu Stüke verschnitten und zerrissen wurden, ich auch habe einige mal etwass abzuschneiden errungen, allein ich musste es ungekocht zerbeissen u: Essen da Hunger wegen kein zufälliges Sieden abwarten konte. Vorzügliche Plage war das Marschieren, indem geschlossener Armee wegen alles zu Kollonen gehen musste, und die Hize und der Staub gleich einen dampfenden Kolnhaufen in die Augen loderte, Vertoppelt wurde die Anstrengung durch das immerwährende Stoken der Völker⁴⁶ sobald es an einen Sumpf oder schmalen Weg ankam, halbstundenlang musste man Stehen, dan eben solang wieder Nachspringen, und ohne Wasser u: Lebensmittel daher Schinden.⁴⁷

Der Marsch wurde fortgesetzt Tag u: Nacht gegen Wilkomies

⁴⁴ Only here; elsewhere Walter always speaks of Napolion, the form of the name used in Swabian dialect, Schwäb. Wb., IV, 1942.

⁴⁵ There were several major crossings of the boundary from June 24 at Tilsit up to about July 1 near Grodno, but the formal opening of Napoleon's Moscow campaign is usually dated from the crossing near Kovno. There, where the Vilia enters the Niemen, Davout and his first army corps had been sent ahead of the coming of the 2nd and 3rd corps and Napoleon. Since the normal highway crossing was by ferry, pontoons had to be used for the troops. As late as June 20-22 Ney was ordered to cross at Preny. Cf. *Corresp. Nap.*, vol. XXIII, nos. 18830, 18839, 18856. However, disguised as Poles, Napoleon and his engineers spent June 23 reconnoitering the Niemen banks, and chose a river-bend above Kovno near Poniemon for all the bridges. Cf. especially *Mémoires du*

the river, and everyone thought that he should make his knapsack as light as possible. I, too, searched through my pieces of clothing and threw away vests, unnecessary cleaning articles, trousers, etc. Here we had to make a halt until the pontoons were brought up and several bridges were constructed across the water. Now we believed that the Russians would wait on the other bank and attack, but nothing happened. Bonaparte fired upon the high points held by the Russians with a few cannon and sent his cavalry across the water. The Russians, however, withdrew after a short encounter.

On June 25 the army went over the bridges. We now believed that, once in Russia, we need do nothing but forage — which, however, proved to be an illusion. The town of Ponie-mon was already stripped before we could enter, and so were all the villages. Here and there a hog ran around and then was beaten with clubs, chopped with sabers, and stabbed with bayonets; and, often still living, it would be cut and torn to pieces. Several times I succeeded in cutting off something; but I had to chew it and eat it uncooked, since my hunger could not wait for a chance to boil the meat. The worst torture was the march, because the closed ranks forced all to go in columns; the heat and the dust flared up into our eyes as if from smoking coal heaps. The hardship was doubled by the continual halting of the troops whenever we came to a swamp or a narrow road. Often one had to stand for half an hour; then another such period was spent catching up and sweating along without water or food.

The march proceeded day and night toward Vilkomirz and

général de Caulaincourt (Paris, 1933), I, 342-348, with notes; Fain, MSS. 1812, I, 137-141. About midnight Morand's 1st division of Davout's corps went over unopposed. Napoleon himself on June 24 made several crossings. Fixing his quarters on the Russian side at Holy Cross Convent, he thence directed bridge replacements on the Vilia and route reconnaissances preparatory to the passage of the main body of his troops on June 25-26, mostly under his eye. To enable them to carry more food the soldiers had been ordered to reduce their knapsack clothing to a minimum as described by Walter. Cf. *Caulaincourt*, op. cit., I, 242 f. note. This circumstance increased the suffering from the drenching downpours which came during June 24 and 25. Cf. also *Castellane*, op. cit., I, 104-108; H. B. George, *Napoleon's Invasion of Russia* (London-New York, 1899), pp. 116-121; A. Pfister, *Rheinbund*, I, 42-47.

⁴⁶ Volk in the archaic sense of "army." See note 13.

⁴⁷ This passage is not quite clear in the manuscript.

und Eve,⁴⁸ inzwischen regnete es mehrere Tage unaufhörlich, und der Regen war kalt, umso empfindlicher aber war er, da nichts getrocknet werden konnte, nur die Wärme von Leib⁴⁹ war das rettungsmittel vom Erstarren, ich hatte nur ein par blau leinwandene Hosen an welche ich in Thorn kaufte und Selbe der vorhergehenden Hize wegen hinwegwarf,⁵⁰ ich wahr also 2. Tag u: 2. Nacht in beständiger Nässe das keine Stelle am Leibe trocken war, ohngeachtet blieb ich nicht zurück obschon ich nachts keinen Weg sah und den dort leetigen Boden wegen hin u: her und auf alle Seithen schlipfte, ja ohne unterlass fielen um mich her Soldaten so das die mehreste mit Koth überzogen, und theils liegen geblieben waren.⁵¹

In der 3ten Nacht wurde halt gemacht auf einen Akerfeld welches ganz zu einem Sumpf zertreten war, hier sollen wir uns Lagern und Feuer aufmachen, da weder Orth, Wald zu sehen war und der Regen unaufhörlich tauerte,⁵² da kan man sich denken in welchen Zustand jeder halb erstarrt dastund, was war zu thun—Es war nichts zu thun als die Quere auf Pierermitten⁵³ zu sezen vor Erstarrung sich zu bewegen, endlich wurde Abseit ein Edelhof entdekt und sogleich lief alles um sich Partienweis ein Barak zu bauen,⁵⁴ es war kein anderes Mittel als aller Kräften

⁴⁸ Polish Wilkomierz, spelled *Wilkomir* on most of the maps of the time, now Ukmerge in Lithuania, 50 miles NW. of Vilna, and Eve, a hamlet on the highway from Kovno to Vilna. Cf. J. Steinmüller, *Tagebuch über seine Teilnahme am russischen Feldzug 1812*. Hgg. von K. Wild (Heidelberg, 1904), p. 51: "Wir erreichten endlich nach einem 15-stündigen beschwerlichen Marsche in einem Zustande der äussersten Erschöpfung Ewe (15 Stunden von Wilna)." Castellane (op. cit., I, 110-112), writing of the retreat, puts "Ewje" 30 miles from Vilna, 16 miles from Kovno. For a fuller discussion of this stage of the advance see note 51.

⁴⁹ Like most German dialects, Swabian uses the preposition *von* with the dative instead of the older form of the genitive. See note 109.

⁵⁰ Here the text of the manuscript has been changed repeatedly so that the meaning is not quite clear. *Selbe* was inserted afterwards, and the words *der vorhergehenden Hize* wegen were originally followed by *keine Unterhosen*, which two words were later crossed out.

⁵¹ The adverse weather which met the army after the very entry into Lithuania might well have been deemed confirmation of the bad augury of Napoleon's fall from his horse on his coming to the Prussian frontier on June 22. There were heavy thunderstorms during the Niemen crossing on June 24 and 25 as mentioned in most accounts. Ney's troops, which crossed the Niemen and Vilia early on June 25 heading northeast for Kornelov (in the Vilkomir direction), indeed marched through heavy heat and dust as far as Janovo before the downpour broke over them in mid-afternoon. Cf. Walter, and Lt. Martens (in P. Holzhausen, op. cit., part I, pp. 23 f.); also J. B. A. M. Marbot,

Eve. Meanwhile it rained ceaselessly for several days, and the rain was cold. It was all the more disagreeable because nothing could be dried. Bodily warmth was our only salvation from freezing to death. I had on only one pair of blue linen trousers, which I had bought at Thorn, since I had thrown away my underwear because of the former heat. Thus I was constantly wet for two days and two nights, so that not a spot on my body was dry. Nevertheless, I did not remain behind, although I could not see the way at night and slid in every direction on account of the clay soil. Indeed, the soldiers fell about me so incessantly that most of them were completely covered with mud and some were left lying behind.

During the third night a halt was made in a field which was trampled into a swamp. Here we were ordered to camp and to make fires, since neither village nor forest could be seen and the rain continued without end. You can imagine in what a half-numbed condition everyone stood here. What could we do? There was nothing that we could do but stack the rifles in pyramids and keep moving in order not to freeze. Finally an estate was found off to one side, and all the soldiers by groups immediately ran to build a shelter. There was nothing else to do ex-

Mémoires (Paris, 1898), III, 54; Castellane, *op. cit.*, I, 107 f.; Caulaincourt, *op. cit.*, I, 348, note 2; A. Pfister, *Rheinbund*, I, 44 ff. Apparently the rain kept up two days during which, having turned south and recrossed the Vilia following a route indicated in Ségur's general map, they must have come by the second night to Scoruti (or Scoruli) and by the night of June 27/28 to about Eve. Cf. also *Corresp. Nap.*, vol. XXIII, nos. 18865, 18869, 18873; A. Pfister, *Rheinbund*, I, 48. Evidently June 28 was fair, but a torrential rain and sleet the following afternoon brought five days of bitter cold, wet days and nights deadly in their effect upon the armies. Especially appalling was the death of some 10,000 horses recorded by J. R. Coignet, *The Note-books of Captain Coignet Soldier of the Empire* (London, 1928), pp. 204-208. Caulaincourt, *op. cit.*, I, 349; Sir R. T. Wilson, *Narrative of the Events during the Invasion of Russia* (London, 1860), p. 29.

⁵² A very similar description of the sudden change of the weather in that region was given by Martens: "Bei Janowo hatten wir drückende Hitze und einen unerträglichen Staub zu bestehen. Nachmittags rollte der Donner mit mächtigen Schlägen, und ein Gewitterregen durchnässte die Haut." P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part I, pp. 23 f.

⁵³ A curious misspelling of the unfamiliar word *Pyramiden*. *Quere* instead of *Gewehre* is due to phonetic spelling; there is no difference in Swabian dialect pronunciation between *gw* and *kw* (*qu*). See note 110.

⁵⁴ Owing to omissions of significant data as to movements at this stage, Walter's account and other available evidence need be mutually checked and clarified. Apparently Eve, in sandy pine-lands, was the general rendezvous in the night of June 27/28 for the French troops moving from Kovno to Vilna. Just beyond it the secondary route along the Vilia via Janovo and Kormelov joined the main highway. The Württembergers got there in

anzuwenden und Stangen und Stroh herauszuschleifen,⁵⁵ so brachte ich mit Beyhülfe eine kleine Barak zusammen, allein zum Feuer Holz zu holen reichten die Kräfte nicht mehr, ich legte mich mit meinem Hunger und Nässe in die Zelt, die eintrügende Kamuraden aber die sich auf mich legten dienten mir zur warmen Deke.

Da ich nun den Tag sahe Eilte ich wieder fort in den Edelhof, inzwischen wurde ein Kellerfoll Brandwein entdekt, ich trug mich auch in diesen Keller und filte meine Feldflasche, mit dieser kam ich zurück, Trank ihn jedoch ohne Brod noch was anders, Nun da es gegen Mittag gieng wurde man erst gewahr das noch die Hälfte Leuthe zurück waren, und im Morast mehrere verstükt sind.⁵⁶ Der Brandwein war da eine Wohldat jedoch Trank sich mancher den Tod hinein, da er eingeschlafen ist und von Nässkalte erstarrte, dieses traf auch meinen Dampor namens Schäfer.⁵⁷

Nachdem nun Abends etwas Kühfleisch gefasst wurde brachten wir auch mit mühe ein Feuer auf so das das Fleisch und die Brihe den Magen erwärmten, und dan gieng der Zug weiters nach dem Stadtchen Maliaduy, hier wurde 2. Tage halt gemacht und die Kranke in das Spital ausgenommen.⁵⁸ In diesem Bivag erhielten wir etwas Fleisch, allein die mehresten konen das Lehre Fleisch nicht mehr vertauen und die Arre⁵⁹ ergrif viele, und mussten ligen bleiben.⁶⁰ In diesem Lager machte ich mir die Gelegenheit zu nuzen und waschte mein Hemdt und Hosen es

that "third night," after a 15 hours' march from Skoruti, and erected barracks, — according to Martens on the next morning when the rain had stopped. At a close-by grange Napoleon spent that night, leaving about 2 A.M. on June 28 via Rikonty for Vilna, where he arrived in the afternoon. Cf. A. Pfister, *Rheinbund*, I, 48 f., 52-56; P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part I, pp. 23 ff.; Caulaincourt, *op. cit.*, I, 348 ff.

From Vilna, owing to news of skirmishes near Vilkomir with Wittgenstein's Russian rearguard, Napoleon ordered Oudinot, Murat, and Ney to coöperate in pursuit of Barclay's army. So on June 29, as the new cold rains set in, Ney recrossed the Vilja and turned back north and east. The bivouacs at Mejschagola and Suderva (June 29 and 30) were swampy with knee-deep clay. Prince Wilhelm's report of the Suderva bivouac as to terrain, weather, rations, barracks, and brandy incidents agrees with Walter's narrative. Also, as Walter adds, the troops went at once to Maliaty, marching the next day in heavy rain from 3 A.M. to midnight. Of the camp on July 1 Martens says, "Blieben wieder Menschen und Pferde im Kot liegen." When Maliaty was reached on July 2, hospitalization and forced rest were needed. Besides, on July 4 Napoleon forbade Ney to move until his artillery caught up and then by slow stages only. By July 6 he had been ordered on to Taurogina, on July 9 he was at Kosatschisna, July 13 at Drysviaty, and July

cept to use all our strength and to pull out poles and straw; so I with assistance built a little shelter, but my strength did not last long enough to collect firewood. I lay in the tent shelter, hungry and wet. The comrades, however, who came in and lay down upon me served as a warm cover.

When dawn came, I hurried again to the manor. Meanwhile a cellar full of brandy had been discovered. I, too, pushed myself into the cellar and filled my field flask. I returned to the shelter with this and drank it without even any bread. Then by noon I noticed that half the men had stayed back and several had suffocated in the swamp. The brandy helped, but many a man drank himself to death because he would become numbed and would freeze on account of the wet and cold. My drummer, by the name of Schäfer, met such an end.

In the evening, when some beef was distributed, with difficulty we started a fire, so that meat and broth soon warmed our stomachs. Then the march continued toward the little town of Maliaty, where a two-day halt was made and the sick were taken to the hospital. In this bivouac we obtained some meat; but most of the men could no longer digest the pure meat, diarrhea seized many, and they had to be abandoned. In this camp I took the opportunity to wash my shirt and trousers. It

15 near Braslav (at Raskimosi), remaining there for health and food and for strategic reasons until July 19, when they advanced to the Dvina River. Cf. *Corresp. Nap.*, vol. XXIII, nos. 18873, 18874, 18877, 18879; vol. XXIV, nos. 18895, 18899, 18910, 18936, 18963; also A. Pfister and P. Holzhausen as cited, R. T. Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 f., and Walter for other details not elsewhere given.

⁵⁵ *Schleifen*, the verb used for *schleppen* in Swabian dialect. Cf. *Schwäb. Wb.*, V, 924.

⁵⁶ *Verstükt* instead of *erstickt*, *Schwäb. Wb.*, II, 1363. See notes 42, 289, 291.

⁵⁷ Cf. A. Rose, *Napoleon's Campaign in Russia, Anno 1812, Medico-historical* (New York, 1913), p. 15: "Remarkably sudden disaster followed the immoderate use of alcohol. Some Württemberg soldiers, who during the first days of July had been sent on requisition, had discovered large quantities of brandy in a nobleman's mansion, and had indulged in its immoderate use and died, like all dysentery patients who took too much alcohol."

⁵⁸ Maliaty, a little town N. of Vilna and directly E. of Vilkomirz. There the Württembergers rested several days during the beginning of July and set up hospitals for their many sick. See notes 54 and 60.

⁵⁹ The writer mistakes the first syllable of the word *Diarrhöe* for the German definite article and, therefore, separates it from the other parts of the word: *Diarrhöe* becomes *die Arre*. *Schwäb. Wb.*, I, 326, II, 186, gives striking evidence of the very same usage in the present speech of the region about Ellwangen.

⁶⁰ There are two equally impressive aspects of the health situation of Napoleon's forces at the outset of the Russian campaign. One is the relative immunity of the troops to the

war gerade schön Wetter, um Wasser zum Drücken u: Kochen zu erhalten wurden in die Sümpfe 3'. tiefe Gruben gegraben in welchen das Wasser zusammenlief jedoch ganz warm, Braunroth, und Millionen kleinen rothen Würmchen, so dass das Wasser in Leinwand gebunden und mit dem Mund durchgesaugt werden musste, dies war freilich der Natur und unserer Lebenart ein Hartes muss.⁶¹

Nun mussten wir weiter über die Orte Calcalcisna, Dauonary, Diescony, Driswiaty, Braslav, nach Disna, wo wir mitte im Julius ankamen.⁶² Imer schwächer wurden die Leuthe und täglich verringerten sich die Kompagnien, die Märsche wurden Tag und Nacht fortgesetzt, und ein man nach dem andern streckte sich todschwach auf die Erde, worunter die mehrsten über einige Stundenlang Starben, mehrere aber fielen unter dem Gliedern plötzlich Tod zur Erde.⁶³ Hauptsächlich dat solches der Durst, es gab in den mehrsten Gegenden kein Wasser welches trinkbar war, und so die Leuthe gezwungen waren aus Treglachen in, welche Krepierete Pferde und Tode Menschen lagen, trünken musste. Ich war gar oft ab der Kollon marschirt mehrere Stunden lang nach Wasser, allein selten türfte ich mit einem Wasser zurück oder vor komen, und blieb meinem Durst überlassen. Die Städte waren durchgehens nicht nur ganz ausgeplintert sonder auch zur Hälfte schon abgebrandt.

Endlich kamen wir bey Polozk an einer grossen Stadt jenseitz an der Dina,⁶⁴ in dieser Gegend gieng ich einst aus dem Bivag

unfavorable conditions of the march to the Niemen. The other is the swift development of an alarming disease and death problem. Surgeons like Roos confirm the mass of testimony, ascribing the change to the first two or three days of sharp weather changes and to the forced marches in sodden clothing. Cf. Roos, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 ff. The aftermath of the five days of icy downpours starting on June 29 was far worse. For then, besides the rain, cold, killing marches and swampy bivouacs, the fetid water and the food shortage, the pestilential air from the thousands of unburied animals and men brought epidemics of nervous fevers, intestinal disorders, and general collapse. The situation consequent largely to impassable roads and the havoc among the horses due to the green food and chill rains, which left only the cattle herds driven with the armies as the source of food, was much aggravated by the incentive which it gave the demoralized soldiery to fend for itself. The Württemberg division affords a noteworthy example of all this. Martens first mentions the health situation on June 28. When Maliaty was reached, on July 2, the Prince reported his sick rate had jumped from 180 to 500. Cf. A. Pfister, *Rheinbund*, I, 54, and P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part I, pp. 23 f. Hospitals had to be set up, the army rested several days, and then moved by short marches until July 15. Meanwhile a heat wave had made conditions worse. On July 17 the Prince reported 500 had been sent to Vilna

happened to be good weather; but, in order to obtain water for drinking and cooking, holes were dug into the swamps three feet deep in which the water collected. The water was very warm, however, and was reddish-brown with millions of little red worms so that it had to be bound in linen and sucked through with the mouth. This was, of course, a hardship for any man and particularly for us, living as we were.

Then we had to march farther through the villages of Kosatschisna [?], Labonary, Diescony [?], Drysviaty, Braslav, toward Disna, where we arrived in the middle of July. The men were growing weaker and weaker every day and the companies smaller and smaller. The march was kept up day and night. One man after another stretched himself half-dead upon the ground; most of them died a few hours later; several, however, suddenly fell to the ground dead. The chief cause of this was thirst, for in most districts there was no water fit for drinking, so that the men had to drink out of ditches in which were lying dead horses and dead men. I often marched away from the columns for several hours in search of water, but seldom could I return with any water and had to go thirsty. All the towns not only were completely stripped but were also half-burned.

Finally we arrived at Polotsk, a large city on the other side of the Dvina River. In this region I once left camp to seek pro-

hospitals, 700 left at Maliaty, the death rate had been high, and those still with their units were in bad condition. Most of the officers suffered too, not excepting the Prince, who had to be left behind on July 19, when the division advanced to the Dvina River. — The dysentery epidemic was the most serious problem, which was complicated by the shortage of proper medicaments. The remedies most used seem to have been Hoffmann's drops, peppermint, camomile, in severe cases some opium derivatives, and if they were not available, sometimes broths or flour and water. Cf. Roos, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁶¹ Cf. P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part I, p. 31: "... und das wenige Wasser war bald so schlammig, dass es nur durch ein Tuch genossen werden konnte."

⁶² These are towns and villages between Vilna and the River Düna (Dvina), probably identical with Kosatschisna, Labonary, (Diescony?), Drisviaty (or Drysvjaty), Braslav, Disna on the Düna. See Map. Walter omits a stop just before Braslav, at Raskimosi, as reported by the Crown Prince. The Württembergers reached this place on July 15 and stayed there through July 19; here food wagons arrived on July 17. Cf. A. Pfister, *Rheinbund*, I, 54.

⁶³ Cf. A. Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 13: "Some of the soldiers would march, equipped with knapsack and arms, apparently in good spirits, but suddenly would succumb and die."

⁶⁴ The Russian town of Polotsk or Polock on the Düna (Dvina), capital of the government of Polotsk, 60 miles WNW. of Vitebsk.

um Lebensmittel zusuchen. wir waren 8. Man und kamen in ein weit abgelegenes Dorf, hier durchsuchten wir alle Häusser, es waren auch keine Bauren mehr da, Unvorsichtig dachte ich nachher, gewesen zu sein, indem jeder allein in ein Hauss lief und alles was eine Verdekung hatte, auf brach und alle Fussböden durchsuchten, allein nichts wurde gefunden, leztlich als wir zusammen kamen und abgehen wolten fisitirte ich nochmals ein etwass von Ort entlegens Hitchen, dieses war mit Hanfkauzen⁶⁵ und Brechageln⁶⁶ von unter bis oben der Wand umhäuft, welche ich abriess und durchsuchte, als ich bis auf den Boden hinarbeitete kamen Säke mit Mehl gefüllt hervor, nun rufte ich vor Freuden alle Kamurraden herzu um die Beute vortzuschaffen, in dem Dorfe sahen wir Siebe welche wir abholten das Mehl wegen zollangen Spelzen aussiebten und wieder in Säke füllten.

Nun gieng die Sprache von Tragen und austheilen, es fiel mir aber ein ein Pferd in einem Haus gesehen zu haben, alles musste gleich eilen das Pferd zu suchen, wir bekamen auch 2. statt eins, leither aber nur Follen, wovon eins garnicht zu gebrauchen war. Wir nahmen das Grösste und legten 2. Säke auf, und der Zug gieng an ganz Langsam, wie wir da marschierten sahen die Russen uns mit dieser Beuthe von fernnen, und in der Geschwindigkeit sahen wir einen Haufen Bauren im Teuche gegen 50.⁶⁷ Diese liefen auf uns loss; was ist anders zuthun als auf sie zu schüssen. ich aber führte das Pferd und ein 2ter hebte die Säke, die übrigen feierten ablossungsweis einer nach dem ander ab, so das sie sich auseinandertheilten um nicht so sicher getroffen zu werden, jedoch konten uns die Säke nicht mehr abgenommen werden.

Wir eilten dem Bivag zu fanden aber unter wegs ein Wasser welches tief war, und nur ein runder Baumstamm lag dariber, jezt hies es wie bringen wir das Pferd u: Säke hiniber. ich sagte nun ich trage die Säke über den Baum und das Pferd wirft man

⁶⁵ *Hanfkauzen*, "bundles of retted flax," Swabian dialect expression. Cf. *Schwäb. Wb.*, IV, 298.

⁶⁶ *Brechageln*, "shives," the waste of retted flax or hemp. Cf. *Schwäb. Wb.*, I, 1378:

visions. There were eight of us, and we came to a very distant village. Here we searched all the houses. There were no peasants left. I later realized how heedless I had been, since each one ran into a house alone, broke open everything that was covered, and searched all the floors and still nothing was found. Finally, when we assembled and were ready to leave, I once more inspected a little hut somewhat removed from the village. Around it from top to bottom were heaped bundles of hemp and shives, which I tore down; and, as I worked my way to the ground, sacks full of flour appeared. Now I joyfully called all my comrades so that we might dispose of the booty. In the village we saw sieves; these we took to sift the flour mixed with chaff an inch long; and, after that, we refilled the sacks.

Then the question of carrying and dividing the grain arose, but it occurred to me that I had seen a horse in one of the houses. Everyone immediately hurried to find the horse. We found two instead of one, but unfortunately they were both colts, and one could not be used at all. We took the largest, placed two sacks on it, and started out very slowly. While we were marching there, the Russians saw us from a distance with this booty; and at the same moment we saw a troop of peasants in the valley, about fifty. These ran toward us. What could we do but shoot at them? I, however, led the horse, and a second man held the sacks while the rest fired, one after another, so that the peasants divided in order not to be hit so easily; but they could not take the sacks away from us.

We hurried toward the bivouac, but on the way we found a deep stream of water, and only a round tree trunk lay across it. Now the question arose how to take the horse and sacks across. I said, "Why, I will carry the sacks across, and we will

"Brechagen, die Abfälle beim Flachs- oder Hanfbrechen." *Ibid.*, I, 115 f.: "Agen, aglen, vom Schwarzwald bis Ellwangen, Heidenheim. Die holzigen Bruchstücke, die beim Brechen des Hanfs oder Flachses abfallen. . . . Aus diesen Abfällen baut der Bauer im Winter die Schirmmauer um seine Stube oder die Viehställe, die er die Angelfeste nennt. Buck."

⁶⁷ *Teuch*, i.e., *Teich* n., in Swabian dialect never refers to a pond but to a depression in the ground without water. Cf. *Beschreibung des Oberamts Ellwangen*, hrsg. vom K. stat.-topographischen Bureau (Stuttgart, 1886), p. 195, and *Schwäb. Wb.*, II, 129 f.

ins Wasser. Also richtig, ich kam glücklich ohne Gelehrter in lothrechter Richtung über den Steg wass mich aber auch das Leben hätte Kosten können, indem der Fluss sehr tief war. nun wurde das Pferd eingeworfen, und mit Steinen hinüber getrieben, die Säke aufgeladen und follens in Pivag marschiert. Dies war eine Freude, was jeder für sich nicht brauchen konnte wurde ausgetheilt, Dan Teig gemacht mit Händen kleine Ballen gedrügt, und im Feuer gebaken, oder fielmehr gebraden. Mit diesem Vorrath hatte gegen 8. Tage zugebracht, und ich dankte Gott für das zufallige Geschik welches unter den Brechageln verborgen blieb bis ich kam.

Wir kamen dan weiter, zogen uns etwas östlicher über Ula, Biskinkowize, Ostrovna, und zu Ende des Julius nach Witepsk.⁶⁸ Untern öfterm Bivagieren bis Witepsk, unternahmen wir auch einen Streifzug unsere etliche 30. Man abwärts, um etwa ein noch bewohntes und ungeraubtes Ort zu finden, wir nahmen unsere Kräften zusammen liefen 3. bis 4. Stunden Abseits in der Hoffnung die Arme im 2ten Bivag einzuholen.—⁶⁹

Es gligte uns und fanden ein Dorf wo noch alles so zimlich in der Ordnung war. Um uns wenige Manschaft zu versichern, stellten wir rikwärts dem Ort ein Biget aus und hinterliesen ihnen mit gewissen Schüssen einens etwagen Ueberfals von den Russen, zu berichten. Als wir in das Dorf kamen machte sich gleich ein Man zu uns der warscheinlich als Dalmetscher von dem Schulzen zugeschikt wurde, um unser begehren zu vernehmen. Wir sagen das wir Lebensmittel verlangen zur Arme, erhalten wir sie gutwillig so unterbleibt die Gewalt. Jener trug es dem Ort vor, und die Antwort war nichts, nun mussten 2. und 2. Man alle mal ein Haus vornehmen und durchsuchen, ich nahm nebst einen

⁶⁸ Ula, Beschenkowitschi (or Beshenkovich), Ostrovno, and Vitebsk, all on the Düna, E. and SE. of Polotsk. Napoleon arrived at Beschenkowitschi on July 24, at Ostrovno on July 25, and at Vitebsk on July 28 (Schuermans, op. cit., p. 305). As to the cavalry engagements at Ostrovno, see the standard accounts.

⁶⁹ These foraging exploits, it pleases Walter to relate, continue to show how seriously indiscipline figured in the debacle of 1812. The menace had been foreseen at Kovno and before. See note 39. Thereafter most strenuous measures by Napoleon to curb his straggling, marauding soldiery had proved ineffective. Cf. *Corresp. Nap.*, vol. XXIV, nos. 18939, etc.; Coignet, op. cit., pp. 211-217. Such also had been the experience of

throw the horse into the water," and, indeed, I succeeded in getting over the narrow bridge in an upright position without the use of handrails, which feat might have cost me my life, since the river was very deep. Then the horse was thrown in and driven across with stones, the sacks were then reloaded, and we finally marched into bivouac. That was a joy! Whatever each person could not use was distributed. Then dough was made, and little balls were molded with the hands and baked, or rather roasted, in the fire. This food lasted me a week, and I thanked God for the chance gift which had remained buried under the shives until I came.

We then marched farther in a somewhat more eastern direction through Ula, Beshenkovichi, and Ostrovno, and near the end of July toward Vitebsk. Often on the way to Vitebsk we undertook a raiding excursion. Some thirty of our men went off the main route to find a still inhabited and unstripped village. We collected our strength and walked from three to four hours in hopes of rejoining the army at the second bivouac.

We were fortunate and found a village where everything still seemed to be in order. To safeguard our small group, we left a rear-guard behind and agreed that they should report with certain shooting signals a possible attack from the Russians. As we entered the village, a man at once approached us who was probably sent as an interpreter from the mayor to learn our desires. We told him that we required provisions for the army — if we received them voluntarily, force would not be used. He reported it to the village, but the answer was of no good; so we were compelled two by two to take a house and search it. I joined forces

the Crown Prince of Württemberg, who was earnestly striving to redeem the honor of his contingent, as indicated in a dispatch of July 7 to his father. Cf. A. Pfister, *Rheinbund*, I, 52 f. Yet that his efforts were not wholly in vain is attested by an entry of the *Castellane Journal*, I, 120, dated July 25 at Ula, Ney's headquarters: "The Württembergers composing part of his corps die on the route. The Emperor reproached the Prince Royal of Württemberg that his corps committed shocking horrors and pillaged. The officers, full of honor, prevented their soldiers from leaving the route, preferring to perish with them. The Prince of Württemberg, very sick, will have to quit the army. Marshal Ney has asked me to tell the Emperor that his corps, marching behind the others, lives from the taking of half the wagons of flour conducted by soldiers of other corps who pass through his columns; they share as brothers, otherwise his army would die of famine."

Kamuraden mein Geschäft vor, fand aber nichts als millich⁷⁰ und Kraut (Kapuke).⁷¹

In einem Hof stand eine Hölzerne Hitte, diese war verschlossen, die Bauren wolten nicht aufmachen, als wir die Thüre einstossten kam die Frau so schwanger war, wie rasant gesprungen, und wolte uns herausreissen, welche wir jedoch mit schonenten Stössen zurickbrachten, hier erwischten wir etwas Mehl Eyer u: Schmalz, alle brachten dan etwas zusamen und unsere Beute betrug ziemlich viel. Dieses unternehmen führte ich dessentwegen an, um die Art der russischen Unterthanen könen zu lehnen. Hätten Sie die Einfache Abschicht gutwillig beseitigt,⁷² so weren viele Hausgerethe unvertorben geblieben, dan es mussten, um etwass zu fünden Fussböden und Gebälke aufgehoben und alles Verdeckte umgekehrt werden, unter einem solchen Fussboden welcher von grossen Balken einer an dem andern lag fanden wir Döpfe voll Wirste welche 4. 5'. lang in Därme gefilt und mit zolldiken Speken und Fleisch angepropft waren, ungeachtet das solche schon gross gerochen haben, wurde doch das Essen mit Eile begonnen, auch stekten Döpfe voll Kesklompen darunter welche sie Landsittlich als Milch an das Feuer stelten, gerünen liessen so das sich die Milch, Kese, und Schmalz Stükweise durcheinander schwam, der Kes und Schmalz blieb dan für uns.

In einem andern schon ziemlich ausgeraubtem Orte konte nichts in Häussern mehr gefunden werden, und dem Hunger wegen wurde in der Erde nachgegraben. Hier hebte ich mit mehrer einen grossen Holzhaufen ab, der vermuthlich erst hingesetzt worden ist, diesen Höbten wir ab, grabten in die Erde und fanden ein Gedek mit Dihlen belegt, nach diesem folgte eine Oefnung 10—12' tief und waren Honig Fässgen und Waizen mit Stroh bedekt, als wir dieses alles hatten, oefneten wir die Fässgen und sahen eine weis erhärtete Masse mit dem Scheine wie hartes Wachs, es war so fest das mit dem Sabel mit harter

⁷⁰ The gliding vowel in *Millich* for *Milch*, "milk," is typical of the Swabian dialect north of the Neckar and Rems (which district includes the region about Ellwangen),

with a comrade but found nothing except milk and cabbage ("kapuke").

A wooden hut stood on a farm. This was locked, and the peasants would not open it. When we broke down the door, a woman who was with child came running at us as if mad and wanted to throw us out, but we forced her back with gentle thrusts. Here we obtained some flour, eggs, and fat. When all brought their findings together later, our booty was considerable. I am telling of this undertaking to show the ways of the Russian subjects. If they had voluntarily removed the simple covers of their storage places[?], much of the household furniture would have remained unspoiled, for it was necessary to raise the floors and the beams in order to find anything and to turn upside down everything that was covered. Under one such floor, which had large beams resting side by side, we found pots full of sausages stuffed into casings four to five feet long and filled with pieces of bacon and meat an inch thick. Although such sausages already had a fierce smell, they were quickly eaten. Here were also hidden pots filled with lumps of cheese, which according to the customs of the country had been placed as milk on the fire and had been allowed to curdle so that the milk, cheese, and fat floated about in chunks. The cheese and fat were still left for us.

In another partly plundered village nothing could be found in the houses; and so, urged on by our hunger, we dug in the ground. Here I with several others removed a large pile of wood which had probably just been put there. We removed this, dug into the ground, and found a covered roof of planks. There was an opening under this from ten to twelve feet deep. Inside there were honey jars and wheat covered with straw. When we had all this, we opened the jars and saw a solid, white substance with the appearance of hard wax. It was so hard that one had

Schwäb. Wb., IV, 1665. It is also confirmed by the description of the present-day speech of Ellwangen, *Oberamtsbeschreibung Ellwangen*, p. 191: *milech*.

⁷¹ The Russian word for "cabbage" is *kapusta*. See notes 185 and 187. The -k- in Walter's spellings may be due to a Russian derivative formed in analogy to *zakuska*: *kapustka* (according to Professor E. Sittig-Tübingen).

⁷² This passage is not quite clear in the German text.

mihe etwass abgehauen werden könnte, so wie es aber an das Feuer kam zerschmelzte alles zu Honig ganz klar, nun hatte ich Honig 8. Tage lang zu esen, jedoch ohne Brod, den Weitzen as ich rau, auch wilden Kalmus aus den Sümpfen,⁷³ und überhaupt was als Garttenwurzeln zu fünden war, mussten für den aussersten Hunger dienen.

Nach diesem Streifzug trafen wir das Cohr wider im Bivag, und kamen dan a: 16. Augst: gegen der Stadt Smolensk.⁷⁴ Hier war meine Kompagnie nur noch 25. brauchbare Man stark, schon bei Wietebks wurden alles Regimenter zu einge Bartalione gebildet und viele Ofziere wurden Dienstloss gemacht⁷⁵ worunter auch mein Hauptman, namens Arrant kam.⁷⁶ Hier musste sich alles auf die Schlacht gefasst machen. Die Stadt liegt von uns aus auf einer lang ansteigenden Höher und hinter derselben der Nieber Fluss, schon Abens beim Ankommen gegen die Stadt gab es schon Gefechte mit den Vorposten und Avangarte.

A: 17. Augst morgen stellten sich alle Regimenter in Bewegung und alles rikte in Kollonen gegen die Russen, hier musste jedes Regiment ohne Ausnahme ins Feuer, und mehrmalen mit Stürmen der Scharmizel begonnen, jedoch der Überzahl der Russen gieng es allemal an diesem Tage wieder zurik, indem ihr grosses Geschitz auf den Höhen stunden und alles beschüssen konten, Endlich gegen Nacht behaupteten wir die Anhöhe vor der Stadt u: dan lies die Schlacht nach. bei diesem Ereigniss war der Hunger nicht mehr Denkbare, die Nacht über As ich von meinen noch wenigen Honig u: rauen Vorrath, ahne kochen zukönen, das Denken für den morgenden Tage wechselte mit gemischtem Schlafe und die viele Tode Menschen, u: Pferde stellten sich als eine Geisterwelt vor dem Gerichte in die Fandasia. Da ich kein unklik hatte blessiert zu werden, dachte ich, Gott du hast mich bissher leben lassen, ich danke dir und opfere

⁷³ The sweet flag (*Acorus calamus*), which is known for its aromatic root. Cf. Schwäb. Wb., IV, 168.

⁷⁴ Smolensk, capital of the government of Smolensk, on both banks of the Dnieper, 250 miles WSW. of Moscow. The date of arrival is correct; Napoleon also arrived there on August 16, 1812.

⁷⁵ Cf. P. Holzhausen, op. cit., part I, pp. 87 f., note: "Die württembergische Division war schon vor der Schlacht [of Borodino] so schwach geworden, dass sie im Lager von

trouble breaking off a piece with his saber; but, as soon as it was put on the fire, it all melted to very clear honey. Now I had honey to eat for a week, although without bread. I ate the wheat raw and wild calamus from the swamps; and, in general, what garden roots were to be found had to serve the most extreme hunger.

After this raiding excursion we again met the corps in bivouac; and we came then, on August 16, toward the city of Smolensk. Here my company had only 25 fit men. At Vitebsk already regiments of a few battalions had been formed, and many officers were left without men; among them was my captain, whose name was Arrant. Here everyone had to be prepared for battle. The city lay before us on a long ascending height, and on the other side was the Dnieper River. Even on the night of our arrival there were a few skirmishes with the outposts and vanguard.

On the morning of August 17, every regiment was set in motion, and all advanced in columns against the Russians. Here every regiment without exception was under fire. Again and again the troops attempted assaults, but because of the greater number of the Russians we were forced back every time on this day, since their heavy artillery stood on the heights and could hit everything. Finally by night we had made good our position on the heights overlooking the city, and the battle was discontinued. In the course of these events hunger could no longer be thought of. During the night, however, I ate from my little bit of honey and raw supplies without being able to cook. The thought of the coming day alternated with fitful sleep, and in phantasy the many dead men and horses came as a world of spirits before the last judgment. Since I did not suffer the misfortune of being wounded, I thought: "God, Thou hast allowed me to live till now. I thank Thee and offer up my sufferings to

Gschatsch in drei provisorische Bataillone zusammengezogen wurde."

⁷⁶ In the book by Yelin, *In Russland 1812. Aus dem Tagebuch des württembergischen Offiziers von Yelin* (München, 1911), "von Arand," or "von Arant," is listed as one of the few who did not die in the hospital at Vilna (p. 41). He was taken prisoner there, however, and transported back into Russia (p. 57); on January 8, 1814, he was finally sent home from the Russian town of Pensa.

dir mein Leiden auf und bitte zugleich mich auch ferner in deinen Schuz zu nehmen.—

Diese und noch mehrere Gute Gedanken unterhielt ich mit Gott und bedenkte mein Schicksal. Obwohl die ganze Nacht es unruhig war, und zu jeder Stunde ein neuer Kampf hätte entstehen können, so wahr unter allen Trangsalen keines so hart und drückend, als das Andenken meiner Geschwistert und Freunde. Dieses Gefühl war mein gröster Schmerz welchen ich mit der Hofnung zu unterdrücken suchte—Gott ist alles möglich ich verlasse mich auf seine Fernere Hilfe.

Sobald der Tag anbrach—Hier kan ich nicht übergehen die Tages länge und Nachtkürze zu beschreiben, mehrmalen wen man Nachts Bivagierte war vor dem Einschlafen die Grosse Sonenröthe noch am Himel so das die Sone nur eine kleine Streke von einander unter und wider aufgeht, die Röthe bleibt ganz gross biss zum Sonenaufgang, beim erwachen glaubte man es werde erst nacht werden, und es wurde ganz Tag statt nacht, die Nachtzeit tauert höchsten 3. Stund mit beybehaltenter Sonenröthe.⁷⁷ Also sobald der Tag kam — gieng es auf die Stadt los, es wurde unterhalb der Stadt über das Wasser gesetzt, die Vorstädte auf der nördlichen Seite erstürmt, und in Brandgestekt und somit ganz abgebrant, mein Kampagniearzt namens Stäuble wurde sein Arm bey dem übersezen des Wasser hinweggeschossen, welcher auch nacher Starb, auf meine Kamuraden kante ich keine Acht mehr haben, wusste auch demnach nicht auf welche Art selbe theils umgekommen oder vermisst worden sind, alles Feuerte Schlag auf den Feind loss mit wilder Raserey und man konte sich nicht denken ist man vorn mitten oder hinter dem Mittelpungt der Arme.

Endlich als der Kugelregen immer aus der Stadt rollte, stürmte man auch auf Selbe, mittelst grosen Geschützt wurden die mehresten Schuz-Pfeiler auf der Hohen alten Stadtmauer, auf welcher innerhalb die Russen sich vertheidigten, theils eingestürzt in die Thore eingebrochen, auf allen Seithen Drang man gegen die Stadt und der Feind wurde zur Flucht gebracht, als ich auch

⁷⁷ A similar observation is reported by H. v. Roos: “. . . als am 8. August mit den

Thee and pray Thee at the same time to take me further into Thy protection."

This and several other pious meditations I had with God, and I considered my destiny. Although it was never quiet the entire night and though a new battle might have started at any hour, none of all my miseries was so hard and depressing as the thought of my brothers, sisters, and friends. This thought was my greatest pain, which I sought to repress with this hope: "With God everything is possible; so I will depend upon His further help."

As soon as the day broke — here I cannot omit the description of the length of the day and the shortness of the night. Many times when we went into bivouac for the night, the great glow of the sun was still in the sky so that there was only a brief interval between the setting and the rising sun. The redness remained very bright until sunrise. On waking one believed that it was just getting dark, but instead it became bright daylight. The night-time lasted three hours at most, with the glow of the sun continuing. So, as soon as the day broke — we marched against the city. The river was crossed below the city. The suburbs on the northern side were stormed, set on fire, and burned up. My company's doctor, named Stäuble, had his arm shot away in crossing the stream, and he died afterwards. No longer could I pay any attention to my comrades and, therefore, knew not in what way they perished or were lost. Everyone fired and struck at the enemy in wild madness, and no one could tell whether he was in front, in the middle, or behind the center of the army.

Finally, while cannon balls kept on raining out of the city, we stormed it. With the help of heavy cannon, most of the supporting piers on the high old city wall, on which the Russians were defending themselves from the inside, were partially destroyed. We broke through the gates, pressed from all sides against the city, and put the enemy to flight. When I entered

ersten Sonnenstrahlen, die da viel früher als an der Donau in Schwaben sichtbar werden, plötzlich das Kriegesgeschrei ertönte. . . ." P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part I, p. 36.

in die Stadt kam zog man sich auf Klöster und Kirchen zu,⁷⁸ ich eilte auch in die grosse Kirche welche rechts der Stadt auf einem Hügel gegen dem Thal stand, es waren jedoch keine Feinde darin zudrefen, nur Geistliche (Bopen)⁷⁹ waren darin und Beteten, sie hatten lange schwarze Kutten an, zerlumpfte Strimpfe und alte Schlorben an den Füßen,⁸⁰ die Kirche war Gross und von innen rund gebaud, hatte viele Heilige und Altäre wie bey uns, nur mit dem unterschied das kein Weywasser da war, die Kirche hatte 5. Thürmme, als 4. auf den Eken, u: ein im der Mitte des Dach, auf jeden Thurm sind 3fache eiserne Kreuze, von jedem Kreuz gehen überschlingende Ketten von einem Thurm zum andern, wass von Aussen eine schönes Ansehen gab.

Nachdem nun die Russen aus den 2. Vorstädten vovon eine Richtung links nach Petersburg, die andre rechts nach Mosgau führte,⁸¹ bestürmt, und die Hölzerne Häuser darnieder lagen, mussten wir Abends die Alte Stelle beziehen in Bivag, hier sah man die zusammengebrachte Plesierte Manschaft in einer Ziegelhitte, welche oben an der Stadt in der Höhe lag, zu schneiden, darunter Arme u: Füsse abgelöst und verbunden wurden, es sahnehmlich alles einem Schlachthaus gleich. In der Stadt selbst wurde auch über die Hälfte Gebäude abgebrand, worunter — besonders im Obertheil der Stadt grosse Masiverbaude Häuser im innern ausbranden, auch viele Dächer von Kupferblech lagen aufgerollt umher, in einem Gebäude westlich von der Stadt sah ich den untern Stockgang mit Bappier⁸² angefilzt und oben nur schwarz überbrand, es müssen warscheinlich alle Aktenstike dahin geflichtet worden sein.⁸³

Am 19. Augst: rikte die ganze Arme vorwärts, und die Rus-

⁷⁸ Note also A. J. B. F. Bourgoigne, *Memoirs of Sergeant Bourgoigne (1812-1813)*, tr. by J. W. Fortescue (London, 1926), p. 7: "While we stayed outside the town, I visited the cathedral, where a large number of the inhabitants had taken refuge, their houses having been destroyed." And Castellane, *op. cit.*, I, 139 (August 21): "I visited the cathedral. It is beautiful. There are pictures on wood, quite bright, too overloaded with ornaments. A very sad spectacle is that of the unhappy inhabitants of burned houses, refugees in the church with the debris of their effects saved from the flames; entire families with infants at the breast, living on potatoes, herbs, roots, a little meal carried to them. A guard has been placed to save this for them; but our soldiers carried off these provisions."

⁷⁹ The Russian word for "priest" is *pop*. The initial B- in Walter's spelling is due to Swabian dialect pronunciation.

the city, we went toward the cloisters and churches. I also hurried into the great church which stood to the right in the city on a hill facing the valley. I did not meet any of the enemy within, however. Only priests ("Bopen") were there praying. They had on long black cowls, ragged hose, and old slippers. The church was large and on the inside built round. It had many holy images and altars as ours do. The only difference was that there was no holy water. The church had five towers, one on each corner and one in the middle of the roof. On every tower were triple iron crosses, and from each cross went intervening chains from one tower to another; this created a beautiful appearance from without.

After the Russians had been stormed from the two suburbs, from which one road on the left leads to St. Petersburg and another on the right to Moscow, and after the wooden houses there lay in ruins, we resorted in the evening to the former camping ground. Here one saw the wounded men brought together to be operated on in a brick kiln which lay on the heights above the city. Many arms and legs were amputated and bandaged. It all looked just like a slaughter house. In the city itself over half of the buildings were burned; these included, especially in the upper part of the city, many large, massive houses which were burned out on the inside. Many roofs of sheet copper were rolled up and lay about. In one building west of the city I saw the lower story filled with paper, and on top it was burned black; probably all the official documents had been hurried to that place.

On August 19, the entire army moved forward, and pursued

⁸⁰ *Schlörben*, a dialect word for "old shoes, old slippers." *Schwäb. Wb.*, V, 948, lists the word (m. and f.) for the region about Ellwangen and for Ellwangen itself.

⁸¹ An interesting misspelling of the name of Moscow, German *Moskau*; the German writer here (not always; see below) has perhaps wrongly associated it with *Moos*, "moss," and *-gau*, "district."

⁸² The spelling *Bappier* renders, in part, the pronunciation of German *Papier* in Swabian dialect.

⁸³ For further details on the capture of Smolensk and conditions in the city thereafter, see Castellane, *op. cit.*, I, 133-140; Caulaincourt, *op. cit.*, I, 391-396; R. T. Wilson, *op. cit.*, 84 ff.

sen wurden verfolgt in aller Eile 4. bis 5. Stunden am Wasser aben kam es Abermal zu einem Schlagen,⁸⁴ allein der Feind hielt nicht lange aus und der Zug gieng dan nach Mosaik dem sogenannten Heiligen Thal.⁸⁵ Von Schmalenzk⁸⁶ bis Mosaik zeigte sich der Krieg in seiner Furchtbaren zerrittung, alle Wege Felder und Walter lagen wie angesehen mit Menschen, Pferde Wägen Abgebrande Törfer u: Städte, alles glich dem gänzlichen Untergang alles was noch Lebt, vorzüglich aber sah man 10. Russen Tod bis einen von unsern Leuthen, obgleich alles täglich merklich abnahm, um durchzukomen durch Wälder Sümpfe und Schmalen Wegen musste allenthalben verramelte Bäume die in Wäldern übereinander verramelt waren, abgeschafft, feindliche Wagenburg aufdieseseithen gebracht werden,⁸⁷ in solcher Menge das es schien alles lige von den Russen Tod darnieder, die Städte inzwischen wahren, Dorogobusch, Semlevo, Wiasma, und Gshadsk.⁸⁸ Der Marsch bis dahin wor ein Marschieren war ist nicht auszusprechen und ist unglaublich für Leuthe die davon nichts sahen, die grösste Hize, der Staub welcher wie diker Nebel war das Laufen in Kollonen geschlossen, das mit toden Menschen und: Vieh gefilte heissfaule Wasser, brachte jeden den Tod nahe, und Augenschmerzen, Entkreftung, Durst u: Hunger marterte an jedem Körper. Gott wie oft erinnerte ich mich an das Brod und Bier welches ich zu Hause mit so gleichem Gefühl genosen Habe, jezt aber muss ich wie halb wild raufen mit den Toden und Lebendigen, wie gerne wolte ich auf mein ganzes Leben auf warme zuhaus gewöhnliche Speissen verzichten thun, wen ich nur jezt nicht mangel hätte an guten Brod u: Bier mehr wolte ich meiner Lebttag nicht genießen. Allein dies waren lehre Hilflosse Gedanken, ja das zurickdenken über die weite Gegend meiner Geschwistert vermehrte meinen Schmerz, wo

⁸⁴ The battle between the towns of Lubino and Valutino, a few miles further up the Dnieper; the date is correct. Cf. P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part I, p. 47; Castellane, *op. cit.*, I, 136 f.

⁸⁵ Being a stonemason by trade, Walter may have thought of German Mosaik, "mosaic," in spelling the Russian name of Moshaisk, a town about 80 miles W. of Moscow. Napoleon arrived there on September 9, 1812 (Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 308).

⁸⁶ A curious misspelling of the name of Smolensk, which in this case was associated with such words as German *schmal*, *Schmalz*, etc., by the German writer; elsewhere he spells it correctly *Smolensk*.

the Russians with all speed. Four or five hours farther up the river another battle started, but the enemy did not hold out long, and the march now led to Moshaisk, the so-called "Holy Valley." From Smolensk to Moshaisk the war displayed its horrible work of destruction: all the roads, fields, and woods lay as though sown with people, horses, wagons, burned villages and cities; everything looked like the complete ruin of all that lived. In particular, we saw ten dead Russians to one of our men, although every day our numbers fell off considerably. In order to pass through woods, swamps, and narrow trails, trees which formed barriers in the woods had to be removed, and wagon barricades of the enemy had to be cleared away. In such numbers were the Russians lying around that it seemed as if they were all dead. The cities in the meantime were Dorogobush, Semlevo, Viasma, and Gshatsk. The march up to there, as far as it was a march, is indescribable and inconceivable for people who have not seen anything of it. The very great heat, the dust which was like a thick fog, the closed line of march in columns, and the putrid water from holes filled with dead people and cattle brought everyone close to death; and eye pains, fatigue, thirst, and hunger tormented everybody. God! how often I remembered the bread and beer which I had enjoyed at home with such an indifferent pleasure! Now, however, I must struggle, half wild, with the dead and living. How gladly would I renounce for my whole life the warm food so common at home if I only did not lack good bread and beer now! I would not wish for more all my life. But these were empty, helpless thoughts. Yes, the thought of my brothers and sisters so far away added to my pain! Wherever I looked, I saw the soldiers

⁸⁷ Cf. P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part I, p. 80: "In den Wäldern trafen sie auf geflüchtete Bauern, die der Krieg in förmliche Nomaden verwandelt hatte. Bayrische Chevaulegers stießen einst auf eine solche Horde, die nach Art der alten Hunnen eine Wagenburg mit sich führte, in der Weiber und Kinder unter der mitgenommenen Habe sassen."

⁸⁸ Dorogobush, capital of the government of Dorogobush, 55 miles ENE. of Smolensk, on the Dnieper; Semlevo, about 85 miles ENE. of Smolensk; Viasma (Vyazma), a center of flax and oil-seed production, 100 miles ENE. of Smolensk; and Gshatsk, capital of the government of Gshatsk, 128 miles NE. of Smolensk, about 100 miles SW. of Moscow. Napoleon arrived at Dorogobush on August 25, at Viasma on August 29, and at Gshatsk on September 1 (Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 307).

ich hinsah erblickte ich an den Soldaten Tode halb verzweifelte Gesichter und viele riefen aus in Verzweiflung, wen mich nur meine Mutter nicht gebohren hätte, ja einige verwilte verfluchten ihre Aeltern u: Geburt.⁸⁹

Diese Stimen aber erheben mein Gemüth zu Gott und redete öfters in der Stille, Gott du kanst mich retten ist es aber nicht dein Wille, so Hofe ich meine Sinden werden mir wegen erlittenr Schmerzen vergeben und meine Seele zu Dir aufgenommen werden. mit solchen Gedanken lief ich dan imer meinem Schiksale getrost entgegen.⁹⁰

A: 7. Septemb: wurde jeden Korps ihre Plätze angewiesen und das Zeichen zum Angrif gegeben.⁹¹ Wie Donnerschläge began das Feueren gegen und von dem Feind, die Erde Hüpfte zittert von Kannonen Feuer, und Kugelregen kreuzten durcheinander, mehrere Schanzen wurden mit schrecklicher Aufopferung erstürmt eingenommen und der Feind rückte nicht von der Stelle, die französische Gart war Ordinanzmässig hinter den angreifenden Korps aufgestellt, um am Ende den Ausschlag zu geben. Nun rikten beide Armen vester gegeneinander und das Mordgeschrei und Feuergeschütter Glich einer Hölle. Es wurden 9. Schanzwerker erstürmt, die Franzosen trohten den Feind von der Vorterseite einzuschlüsseln, und Endlich wich der Feind.

Diese schöne Fruchtgegend, ohne Wald u: Dörfer so nun einen abgeholzten Wald gleich von die Stoen einer am andern noch weis und grau zur giebt,⁹² 1 ½ Stund lang u: Breit war der boden mit Menschen u: Vieh bedekt, und Seufzen und Winzeln war auf allen Seiten um ein. Das Wasser scheidete das Schlachtfeld zu 2. Theile,⁹³ links dem Wasser stund eine Reihe mit einigen Häusern welche in eine Totenkappelle verwandelt gleich sah, an Wasser war eine Hölzerne Brike welche

⁸⁹ On conditions during the advance from Smolensk and particularly as to the state of the 25th division, see Castellane's *Journal* I, 141 ff. Thus on August 26, beyond Dorogobush, he notes: "J'ai rencontré . . . le 3e corps réduit à douze mille baionettes. Les Wurtembergeois qui en faisaient partie se sont fondus par la diarrhée. Ce corps a eu sept mille hommes hors de combat aux dernières affaires."

⁹⁰ *Laufen* in Swabian dialect is generally used for "to go, to walk." "To go fast" in Swabian dialect is called *springen* or *sauen* (see note 161); Walter occasionally writes *eilen*, which is not used in genuine dialect, however (see note 94). Cf. *Schwäb. Wb.*, IV, 1335, V, 1589.

with dead, half-desperate faces. Many cried out in despair, "If only my mother had not borne me!" Some demoralized men even cursed their parents and their birth.

These voices, however, raised my soul to God, and I often spoke in quietude, "God, Thou canst save me; but, if it is not Thy will, I hope that my sins will be forgiven because of my sufferings and pains and that my soul will ascend to Thee." With such thoughts I went on trustingly to meet my fate.

On September 7, every corps was assigned its place, and the signal to attack was given. Like thunderbolts the firing began both against and from the enemy. The earth was trembling because of the cannon fire, and the rain of cannon balls crossed confusedly. Several entrenchments were stormed and taken with terrible sacrifices, but the enemy did not move from their place. The French Guard, according to order, was placed behind the attacking corps to bring about the final decision. Now the two armies moved more vigorously against one another, and the death-cries and shattering gunfire seemed a hell. Nine entrenchments were stormed, the French threatened to surround the enemy from the front, and finally the enemy gave way.

This beautiful grain region without woods and villages could now be compared to a cleared forest, a few trunks here and there looking gray and white [?]. Within a space an hour and a half long and wide, the ground was covered with people and animals. There were groans and whines on all sides. The stream separated the battlefield into two parts. On the left of the water stood a row of a few houses which looked like a chapel for the dead. Over the river there was a wooden bridge that had been burned.

⁹¹ The battle was named by the French for the river Moskva, by the Russians for Borodino, a village 75 miles WSW. of Moscow, about two miles from where the Kolotza enters the Moskva. Cf. H. B. George, *Napoleon's Invasion of Russia*, p. 191. — The date given is correct. Concerning the part which the Württemberg troops played in conquering the ramparts, it is interesting to compare Walter's account with the description by General von Scheler as quoted by P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part I, pp. 88 ff.: "Melden Sie dem Kaiser, dass die Württemberger die Schanze, welche von dem 57. und 72. Regiment verlassen wurde, behauptet und dadurch Seine Majestät den König von Neapel von der Gefangenschaft befreit haben."

⁹² This passage is not quite clear in the German text.

⁹³ The River Kolotza, or is it the brook near Semenovskoie? Cf. P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part I, pp. 84 ff.

Abgebrant wurde, durch das Getreng vor und unter dem Abbrennen, filte sich die beide Brikengestadte mit Toden 3 — 4fach hoh aufeinander an besonders verwundete welche noch laufen konten, eilten⁹⁴ dem Fluss zu, um theils ihren Durst, u: theils ihre Wunden zu waschen suchten, — allein keine Hilfe kein trost zur Rettung hatten die leidete Brüder, Hunger, Durst und Brand war ihr Tod.

Obgleich dieses schreckliche Ansehen einem Reich unter den Toden darstellte, so waren die Menschen denoch von Gefühl so gleichgültig eingenomen, stumpf und wie Todenschatten liefen alle an dem Jammergeschrei hinweg, wir rikten vorwärts und lagerten an einem Wald in der Höhe gegen Mosgau,⁹⁵ es war ein grüner Laubwald, hier fehlte es nicht nur am Essen sondern die Hohe lage hatte auch kein Wasser, und die Feldstrasse soh man noch mit Toden Russen bedekt. Nun reissten wir mit etwass froher Hofnung gegen Moskau, jedoch mit Erwartung mit den Russen nochmal zuschlagen, allein der Feund hielt sich zu schwach und zogen durch die Stadt zinteten viele Stadtheile in Brand,⁹⁶ und die Einwohner wurden Preisgegeben, anvermuthent kam der Feund wass die Einwohner forhero nicht glauben konten, da noch niemalen ein Feund die alte Keisser und Kronstadt erreicht und erobert hatte,⁹⁷ alle Kaufleithe und Menschen der Stadt konten sich nicht schnell genug durch Flucht retten und es blieben ungeheure file Kostbarkeiten ungefflichtet — obwohl die Französische Gart die Stadt zuerst besezte, und Wein brod

⁹⁴ The fact that here *eilen*, "to hurry," is used immediately after the word *laufen* in the sense of "to walk" confirms what has been said in note 90.

⁹⁵ The first view of Moscow from the Sparrow Hills was then renowned, although foreign visitors reacted differently to it. Cf. Dr. Edward Clarke, Mme de Stael, J. T. James, and others. — Accounts agree that Napoleon's advance guard, marching silently through hilly forests, on reaching the last height facing the city burst out: "Moscow, Moscow," while clapping their hands. Napoleon was with the foremost troops (Murat's), and Roos, who was among them, has recorded circumstantially (op. cit., pp. 98 f.) how all stood there while prisoners with the imperial staff indicated the chief points. The spot was perhaps half a league from Moscow, near the hasty entrenchments of Fili, and was called by Tolstoi (*War and Peace*) Poklonaya Hill, "Bowing Hill," by others (Ségur, op. cit., II, 19 f., and Bourgogne, op. cit., p. 15) the Mont du Salut, because the orthodox here bowed and crossed themselves. It was about 2 P.M., and, says Ségur, "Le soleil faisait étinceler de mille couleurs cette grande cité." Bourgogne, who was with the guards about half an hour behind, concurs with both Roos and Ségur, adding his own impressions. Thus poetically he recalls: "It was a beautiful summer's day; the sun was reflected on all the domes, spires, and gilded palaces. Many capitals I have seen — such as Paris,

On account of the congestion before and during the burning, the banks on both sides of the bridge were filled with dead piled three and four deep. Particularly the wounded who could still move hurried to the river to quench their thirst or to wash their wounds; but the suffering brothers had no help, no hope of rescue: hunger, thirst, and fire were their death.

Although this terrible sight looked like a kingdom of the dead, the people had, nevertheless, become so indifferent to their feelings that they all ran numbly like shades of death away from the piteous crying. We moved forward and camped by a forest on a height facing Moscow; it was full of green trees. Here we not only had nothing to eat but also no water to drink, because of the high camp site; and the road through the fields was still covered with dead Russians. Now we traveled with somewhat higher hopes toward Moscow yet with the expectation that we should clash again with the Russians, but the Russians thought themselves too weak and went through the city setting fire to many parts, and the inhabitants were abandoned. Our troops came unexpectedly, something which the Russians before had believed impossible, because there never had been a foreign enemy who had reached and conquered the old city of the Tsar, the capital city. All the merchants and people of the city could not flee swiftly enough to save themselves, and many costly articles were left behind. Even though the French Guard occupied the city first and took possession of wine, bread, etc., for

Berlin, Warsaw, Vienna, and Madrid — had only produced an ordinary impression on me. But this was quite different; the effect was to me — in fact to every one — magical." Cf. *Bourgogne*, op. cit., p. 14; also *Séguir*, op. cit., II, 19 f., and *Fain*, MSS. 1812, II, 43 and 46. Yet evidently the magic was not lasting with many, for narratives reflect rather varied reactions. Cf. *P. Holzhausen*, op. cit., part I, pp. 107 f.; also his introduction to *Roos*, op. cit., p. xlv.

⁹⁶ A great controversy has been waged over the origins of the Moscow conflagration. Cf. *Fournier*, *Napoleon I*, tr. by A. E. Adams (New York, 1911), II, 207 f.; H. B. George, op. cit., pp. 217-221. The consensus of opinion is that the fire really broke out in the night of September 14/15; *Bourgogne*, who was at a key point, says about 5 P.M. In part it was due to ordinary fires getting out of control, in part to accidental fires started by rambling French. But the French blamed released jailbirds, army stragglers, maddened citizenry, or men assigned to the task by the governor, *Rostopschin*. The Russians spread this story of patriotic immolation, and *Rostopschin* did not deny and finally even asserted his responsibility. At least he left the city without fire-fighting facilities.

⁹⁷ Note that *Walter* actually gives us two accounts of his arrival at Moscow. They

etc. für ihre Arme in beschlag nahm, so blieb dennoch noch vieles für uns verbindete, wir marschierten auch ein, und bezogen die hinter dem Krimel⁹⁸ sogenannte Teutsche vorstadt welche von westen gegen Osten, hinter der Stadtbreite ligt.

Beim Einmarsch, oder vielmehr beim Anmarsch gegen die Stadt sahen wir schon 1½ Stunde von derselben auf der Höhe in einem Wald, die ungeheure grosse Stadt ligen, Feuerwolgen, rother rauch vergoldete grosse Kirchenthurmkreuze, blitzten, Schimmerten, und Walten aus der Stadt nach uns, die heilige Stadt glich der Beschreibung nach, der Stadt Jerusalem worüber unser Heiland weinte, ja es glich dem Greul und der Verwüstung nach dem Evangelium.⁹⁹ Nacher der Stadt einwärts ist eine lange Ebne, und vor der Stadt läuft das Wasser Alia worüber eine hölzerne Brike ist,¹⁰⁰ im Durchmarsch beobachtete ich soviel ich konte, es waren breite Strassen, langaus gerade Gassen, Gebäude hoh von Bakstein masiv erbaut, Kirchenthürme mit abgebrannten Dächern u: halb zerschmolzenen Glocken an Gebäuden abgerollte Kupferdächer und alles war unbewohnbar und bürgerfrei, nach ettlichen Stundenlangen laufen kamen wir dem dem Schloss vorbei (Krimel), hier war das Wasser Krimel¹⁰¹ in einen gemauerten ofenen Kannal welcher durch die Stadt läuft, unterhalb dem Schloss führte die Strasse rechts auf einen schönen Paratiplaz, und hinter demselben in die Teutsche Vorstadt wo das württembergische Cohr 3. wochen lang bezog.¹⁰²

Hier konte man lebensmittel fünden und Kaufen, dan jeder Soldat war jezt Bürger, Kaufman, Wirth u: Beker von Moskau, jeder suchte sich so viel als möglich zu Kleiten, mit Seitenzeug

differ in form and facts and thus present a problem in criticism. The first recital though obviously a matter-of-fact summary after the events is on the whole factually correct. The second version is more poetic than historic. Thus it pushes the vantage point to an hour and a half from the city, and pictures it at the height of the fire as first seen. At the distance given by Walter, Lossberg, in the night of September 15/16 saw ruddy smoky sky, but not Moscow itself. But he was among the late arrivals, whereas Ney's troops were near the front. In fact we know that the Württemberg infantry arrived after a hard march on September 14, camping a half hour from the barrier, since only the Imperial Guard was allowed in the city until after September 16, and not until the night of September 17/18 were the quarters in the German suburb on the Kazan road assigned to the Württemberg troops. Cf. A. Pfister, *Rheinbund*, I, 107; F. W. von Lossberg, *Briefe vom Russischen Feldzug*, 1812 (Berlin, 1910), pp. 58-60. It will be noted that Napoleon himself arrived at the Dorogomilov Gate of Moscow about 3-4 P.M. on Sep-

their army, there still remained a good deal for us, the allies. We marched in, too, and took quarters behind the Kremlin in the so-called German suburb, which ran from west to east behind the city proper.

On the march into the city or rather on the march toward it, from a hill in a forest an hour and a half away, we saw the huge city lying before us. Clouds of fire, red smoke, great gilded crosses of the church towers glittered, shimmered, and billowed up toward us from the city. This holy city was like the description of the city of Jerusalem, over which our Saviour wept; it even resembled the horror and the wasting according to the Gospel. Farther inward toward the city was a wide plain; and in front of the city ran the stream Alia, over which there was a wooden bridge. As we marched through, I observed as much as I could: there were broad streets, long straight alleys, tall buildings massively built of brick, church towers with burned roofs and half-melted bells, and copper roofs which had rolled from the buildings; everything was uninhabited and uninhabitable. After a few hours' walking we went past the palace (Kremlin). Here was the stream Kremlin in an open, walled canal which runs through the city. At the lower end of the palace a street led toward the right to a beautiful parade ground; and behind this was the German suburb, which the Württemberg corps occupied for three weeks.

Here one could find and buy provisions; for each soldier was now citizen, merchant, innkeeper, and baker of Moscow. Everyone tried to dress as much as possible with silks and materials of

tember 14 and spent the night in that suburb. It was just a week after the battle of Borodino.

⁹⁸ In trying to employ Standard German spelling Walter often writes *i* before nasal consonants even in cases where the *e* is not due to dialect pronunciation but represents correct standard spelling. Thus he mistakes the name *Kreml* for a dialect form of the supposed Standard German form *Krimel* ("hyper-correct"). See note 22.

⁹⁹ See notes 95 and 97.

¹⁰⁰ Possibly a misunderstanding. The river Selnja?

¹⁰¹ This must be a misunderstanding on the part of Walter. Castellane, *op. cit.*, I, 157, says that the Kremlin is situated "au confluent de la Moskwa et de la Negina."

¹⁰² From September 14 to October 18, 1812. Walter actually stayed five weeks. Cf. Yelin, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

Tucher, von allerhand farben, nur mangelte es an Schneider, Seitenzeug, Muselin, rother Savian hatte alles im Ueberfluss, Esswaren mangelten auch nicht, wer keine fand konte kaufen, und Garttengemüss stund alles genug im Felde, besonders gab es rothe Rüben im Ueberfluss welche so rund und gross waren als eine Kegelkugel und durchaus Feuerroth, Grautstök gab es in Menge, und in der Grösse von 3. u: 4 fachen Gehalt gegen unsern Krauthäuptern welche wir uns von den grossen denken. Die Gegend, was man das Moskauwittische nent, ist in Feldbau, Wärme, und Kultur besser zugethan als die Gegenden gegen Petersburg, und jene die wür zuricklegten, es war noch gute Witterung und man konte nachts unter einem Mantel hinlänglich warm schlafen.

Nachdem wür nun bereits 4. Wochen lang Bürger von Mosgau waren verloren wir das Bürgerrecht wider, Napolion schlug den ihm Angetragenen Friedensschluss¹⁰³ aus und die ettliche 30. Stunden weiters fortgerikte Armee musste Ritterieren, da die Russische in der Moldau gestandene Armee anrückte,¹⁰⁴ es war nun der 17. octob: wo Napolion Herschau hielt, und den Abmarsch den 18. octb: früh morgens 3. Uhr ankündigte, mit dem Befehl wer sich eine Stunde zurikaufhalten werde felt in die Hände der Feunde,¹⁰⁵ alles Bier, Brandwein etc: wurde Preis gegeben, und zum Verbrenen was noch aufrecht stund befohlen, selbst lies Napolion dem Krimel unter minneren und Springen,¹⁰⁶ der Morgen kam und jeder nahm sein Bürgerrecht auf den Bukel, und bedekten es mit den von starken wollenen tuch verfertigten Mandelkrägen, u: alle hatten von rothen Savionleder Brodhaschen an der Seithe, und in sonderbarer Gestalt zog man aus, besonders filte man, so viel möglich alles mit Zucker, und sogenannten Mosgauer Tee an, um dem bevorstehende Elend zuwiderstehen, dan Zucker schmelzte sich in dem Brand zu den

¹⁰³ This was not true, but it was the rumor spread among the soldiers.

¹⁰⁴ Under the Russian commander, Tschitschagow. The treaty of Bucharest between Russia and Turkey had been concluded on May 28, 1812.

¹⁰⁵ Here Walter is mistaken by one day. The time when Napoleon reviewed the third corps of Marshal Ney (including the Württemberg regiments) was October

all colors. Only tailors were lacking; silks, muslins, and red Morocco leather were all abundant. Things to eat were not wanting either. Whoever could find nothing, could buy something; and vegetables in sufficient quantity stood in the fields. Particularly was there an abundance of beets, which were as round and large as bowling balls and fiery red throughout. There were masses of cabbage three and four times as large in size as cabbage heads that we would consider large. The district called Muscovy is more favored in agriculture and climate, and more civilized than the regions toward St. Petersburg and those through which we had come. It was still good weather, and one could sleep warm enough under a coat at night.

After we had been citizens of Moscow for four weeks, we lost our burgher rights again. Napoleon refused the peace treaty proposed to him, and the army which had advanced some thirty hours farther on had to retreat, because the Russian army stationed in Moldavia was approaching. Now it was October 17, and Napoleon held an army review and announced the departure for October 18, early in the morning at 3 o'clock, with the warning that whoever should delay one hour would fall into the hands of the enemies. All beer, brandy, etc., was abandoned, and whatever was still intact was ordered to be burned. Napoleon himself had the Kremlin undermined and blown up. The morning came, and each took his privilege of citizenship [*Bürgerrecht*] upon his shoulders and covered it with his coat cape of strong woollen cloth, and everybody had bread pouches of red Morocco leather at his side. All had an odd appearance as they set out; for they filled, as far as it was possible, everything with sugar and the so-called Moscow tea in order to withstand the future misery.

18, not 17; and the time of departure announced by Napoleon was October 19, early in the morning. Cf. Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 309: "Au Kremlin. L'Empereur passe en revue le corps d'armée du maréchal Ney, Oct. 18. Napoléon quitte le Kremlin de grand matin; toute l'armée se met en marche à 5 h. du matin, Oct. 19." And the Württemberg officer Yelin writes (*op. cit.*, p. 5): "Nach der abgehaltenen Heerschau abends am 18. Okt. 1812 kam der Befehl zum Abmarsch." The Württemberg contingent then was 2300 men strong: 1500 infantrymen and 20 officers, 460 artillerymen, 17 officers, and 30 cannon; and a few hundred cavalrymen. Cf. A. Pfister, *König Friedrich*, p. 256.

¹⁰⁶ Instead of *unterminieren und sprengen*. The attempt, however, failed.

Kaufläden heraus, und der halb verbrante, glich einem rührischen Salz braungrau.¹⁰⁷

Als wir uns des morgens zusammenstelten, ware meine Compagnie 25. gemeine Man stark, und so alle Compagnien etwas mehr oder weniger, der Zug gieng hinter der Stadt ostlicher Seithe rechts fort, und umzogen die Stadt auf der Sitlichen Seite, es waren unten 2. Briken über den Fluss geschlagen, und der Rauch der Flamen walte hinter uns auf, oben an der Höhe der Brike standt links am Weg ein Kloster in welchen ein Mehlmagazin war, da holte noch alles, soviel zutragen war. Ueber der Brike war ein Krautland wo noch Millionen Krauthäupter standen, es schmerzte mich nicht einmal ein solchen Stok mitnehmen zu können, indem ich der äussersten Hungersnoth wohl entgegen Sahe.

Der Weg führte über Malo Jaroslavez Sitlich von Mosgau gegen Kaluga, bey Jaroslavez abends stosste die russische Moldau Arme auf uns wovon der Türkei herkamen.¹⁰⁸ In dieser Stadt wurde ich auf die Wacht zum Generalstab Komandiert, die Arme aber lagerte sich vor der Stadt. Hier began die Unmenschlichkeit von den Komandeurs¹⁰⁹ zu steigen, es wurden der übrigen Manschaft das Quere Fisitiert,¹¹⁰ und viele welche das Gewehr nicht ziemlich rostrein hatten, bekamen 12 — bis 20. Prigel, so das die Verzweiflung nahe war. wehrend ich meinen Posten versah sagte ein Kamurad zu mir, ich habe auf jenen Wagen ein Fässgen wein aus Mokau mitgenommen, das ahne dies heute alles zugrunde gehen wird, trinken wirs aus. wür trangen und liesen auch andere davon trünken alle aber sagten wie wirts auch weiters gehen — .

Morgens sahe mich Herr Major von Schamberg,¹¹¹ das ich noch allert¹¹² und noch muthig zeigte, er redete mich an ich sollte bei ihm bleiben und nebst seinem Bedienten mich seiner

¹⁰⁷ The exact meaning of this expression in German is not clear.

¹⁰⁸ Malo Jaroslavetz, SW. of Moscow, 38 miles N. of Kaluga. Napoleon arrived there on October 24 (Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 310). Kaluga, capital of the government of Kaluga, 95 miles SW. of Moscow; the chief manufacture is leather.

¹⁰⁹ See note 49.

¹¹⁰ The spelling *Quere* is due to the pronunciation of *Gewehre* in Swabian dialect. See note 53.

The sugar melted out of the merchant shops in the conflagration and, half-burnt, resembled a brownish gray flowing caramel[?].

When we assembled in the morning, my company was 25 privates strong, and all companies were more or less of this size. The march went forth to the right from behind the eastern side of the city, and we moved past the city on the south. There were two bridges thrown across the river below us, and the smoke from the flames surged up behind us. Up on the heights past the bridge to the left of the road stood a cloister in which there was a flour storeroom where everyone fetched as much as he could carry. Beyond the bridge there was a cabbage patch where millions of cabbage heads were still standing: it pained me not to be able to take along even one of these heads, since I fully expected the utmost famine.

From Moscow the road led south through Malo Jaroslavetz toward Kaluga. Near Jaroslavetz in the evening the Russian Moldavian army, which had come from Turkey, met us. In this city I was ordered on guard at the headquarters of the general staff while the army encamped in front of the city. Here the inhumanity of the commanders began to mount: the remaining troops' weapons were inspected, and many who did not have their weapons fairly rust-free got 12 to 20 strokes with a club until they were near desperation. While I looked after my post, a comrade said to me that he had on a near-by wagon a little cask of wine brought along from Moscow and that since everything would be destroyed that day anyhow we would drink it up. We drank and also let others drink from it, but all of us said, "How will this turn out?"

In the morning Major von Schaumburg saw me and noticed that I was still alert and spirited. He addressed me, saying that I ought to stay with him and take care of him along with his

¹¹¹ Probably identical with "Major von Schaumburg" whom Yelin lists among those who died in the Württemberg hospital at Vilna (*op. cit.*, p. 41). In a letter by Major General von Röder, the name is spelled "Schaumburg." See note 211.

¹¹² Quite frequently used in Swabian dialect in the sense of *munter*, *anstellig*, *flink*, Schwäb. Wb., I, 129 f.

annehmen, ich willigte ein und Uebernahm ein Pferd und seine Egwibasch — es pakten alles auf und der Feund grief uns an,¹¹³ die Entscheidung war sodan zum Vortheil der Russen alles kam nun zur getrüngten Ritterade, die Arme zog sich gegen Kaluga¹¹⁴ und die Kossaken vor u: neben und die Feindes Arme hinter uns zertrümmerten alle Korps und jeder blieb dan ohne Komando, die welche zu schwach waren ihre Quere oder Tornister zu tragen, warfen solche von Sich, u: alles glich einem Zigeinerhaufen.

Ich und mein Nebenbedient reissten mit dem Mayor so wie wir es konten, einsmal sagte mein Mittgehilf Walter du siehst ganz gelb im Gesicht du hast die Gelbsucht, hierüber erschrak ich und glaubte jezt werde ich wohl in Kürze auch mein Ende erreichen müssen, obwohl ich merklich nichts fühlte.

Wir kamen dan einer zweiten Stadt Borowsk.¹¹⁵ Hier war die Stadt gleich ein Brand und es mussten Soldaten zum löschen verwendet werden, um durchzukomen. bei dieser Stadt wurde gelagert u: wurde Nacht, kaum glaubte ruche zu haben, Fielen die Russen über die Arme her und schnitten viele zu gefangen ab, alles war in Verwirrung und das Getreng musste bereits die ganze Nach, Mosaik zu ritterieren, alles lief um die Feund nicht in die Hände zufallen.¹¹⁶ Diese bedeutente Verluste wegen mussten Kannonen, Munzionswegen, Kutschen und Troschten dem Hundert nach in das Wasser geworfen, und wo es nicht mäglich war, so wurden alle Wagen zerbreut, und nicht ein Rad türfte ganz bleiben, an die Kanonen mussten die Margadinter,¹¹⁷ sogar die Kavallerie die Pferde hergeben und an die Kanonen spanen, das Geschläg, das Geschrey, das Feuren, mit gross und kleine Geschoss, Hunger u Durst, u: alle erdenkliche

¹¹³ The battle of Malo Jaroslavetz on October 24, which actually was a drawn battle. Cf. Yelin, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 f.: "Es war ein fürchterlicher Kampf und kostete vielen das Leben, doch blieb der Sieg mehr auf unserer Seite, beide Teile glaubten sich aber besiegt." Since German troops had little part in this battle, Walter probably bases his judgment on the resulting *getrüngte Ritterade*, the much-debated final retreat toward Borodino and Gshatsk. Cf. P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, pp. 11 ff.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 310: "A l'aube, Napoléon s'avance sur la route de Kalougha; en route, il manque d'être pris par des cosaques. . . . Oct. 25." Note also that Bourgogne (*op. cit.*, p. 58) says: "On the 24th we were near Kalougha," at the time of the battle of Malo Jaroslavetz.

attendant. I consented and took over a horse and his equipage. Then everyone packed up, and the enemy attacked us. The decision was soon to the advantage of the Russians, and all ran in a crowded retreat, the army moving toward Kaluga with the Cossacks in front of and beside us. The enemy army behind us shattered all the army corps, leaving each of us then without his commanding officer. Those who were too weak to carry their weapons or knapsacks threw them away, and all looked like a crowd of gypsies.

I and my fellow attendant traveled with the Major as best we could. At one time my fellow attendant said, "Walter, you look all yellow in the face. You have the jaundice!" I became frightened at this and believed that my end would soon have to come, too, though I actually felt nothing.

Then we came to a second city, Borovsk. Here the city was immediately ablaze; and, in order for us to get through, soldiers had to be used to quench the flames. Camp was pitched by this city, and it became dark. One no sooner thought of resting than the Russians fell upon our army and cut off many as captives. Everything was in confusion, and during almost the whole night the throng had to retreat to Moshaisk, everyone running so as not to fall into the hands of the enemy. Because of these considerable losses, cannon, munition wagons, coaches, and baggage wagons by the hundreds had to be thrown into the water; and, where that was impossible, all wagons were burned, not one wheel being permitted to remain whole. The sutlers, even the cavalry, had to give up their horses so that these could be hitched to the cannon. The fighting, the shrieking, the firing of large and small guns, hunger and thirst, and all conceivable torments in-

¹¹⁵ Borovsk, capital of the government of Borovsk, 50 miles NNE. of Kaluga, on the Protva. Napoleon arrived there on October 26 (Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 310), Yelin on October 25 (*op. cit.*, p. 7).

¹¹⁶ See note 85. On the retreat, Napoleon stays "entre Mojaïsk et Borodino on Oct. 28" (Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 310). Yelin reaches Moshaisk on October 27 (*op. cit.*, p. 9), the battlefield of Borodino on October 28.

¹¹⁷ In his endeavor to write Standard German Walter arrives at this curious spelling Margadinter for German Marketender. The genuine form of the word in Swabian dialect is *Marktendner*, *Schwäb. Wb.*, IV, 1479.

plagen wirbelten unaufhörlich zunehmend, ja die Leisse sogar wollten ihre Oberherrschaft suchen zu erringen dan ihre Zahl war beim Offizier wie bei dem Gemeinen Man zu vielen tausenden.¹¹⁸

Zur Zeit dem Tod nahend Schikte Gott imer wieder Hilfe für mich, als wir Nachmiternach in der obenbenanter Verfolgung von den Russen, wieder Bivagirten stund $\frac{1}{4}$. Stund ab der Strasse ein Dörfgen, und ich schief mit meinen Hern, und 2. Pferden in einen noch Gedeken Stall, und ich sah an einem Strik einen gereicherten Schweinkopf hinter einer Raufe hangen, wie von der Hand Gottes empfangen nahm ich ihn mit Dankgebett von dem Strike ab, und Ich u: mein Herr u: Nebenbedient Speissten ihn mit unglaublichen Abbeditt und wurden wieder aufs neue ermuntert. ich dachte dan imer solten nur wenige noch auf den Teutschen boden kommen, so ist es mir auch möglich mit Hilft Gottes dahinzukommen. In diesen Tagen Schneite es das erste mal, und der Schne blieb ligen. Die Kälte drat auch zumal ein, und das Erfrühern der Leuthe vermehrte teglich an Toden, nicht 50 Schritte konte man laufen, ahne das halb oder ganz Tode gestekt lagen.¹¹⁹ Der Weg solte nach Napolions vorhaben, links gegen Gallizien eingeschlagen werden, allein die Russen hinterten und trieben uns über Wereja u: Verina¹²⁰ nach rechts in unser alte oede Herstrasse.¹²¹

Endlich gieng es über das Schlachtfeld bei Mosaik im Heiligen Thal — Hier sahe man erst wieder in welche Menge die Toden lagen,¹²² von der Schlacht an bis daher wurden die Körper

¹¹⁸ *Leisse* renders the pronunciation of German *Läuse* in Swabian dialect (no eu- or äu-sounds, no difference between voiced and voiceless s). Cf. A. Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 102: "... a plague from which, according to his valet, Constant, even the emperor was not exempted. As a matter of course under the circumstances — impossibility of bodily cleanliness — this vermin developed in a way which baffles description. Suckow, a Württembergian first lieutenant, speaks of it as causing intolerable distress, disturbing the sleep at the campfire. . . . A French colonel relates that in scratching himself he tore a piece of flesh from the neck, but that the pain caused by this wound produced a sensation of relief." See also notes 170, 237, and 253.

¹¹⁹ That the weather was a determining factor has been greatly stressed by all writers on the 1812 campaign. Napoleon himself used the argument of an exceptionally early and severe winter as an excuse for the Russian debacle. The historical verdict has generally confuted this. The evidence as to the actual arrival of winter, however, is variant. Castellane (*op. cit.*, I, 145, 161, 179) tells of hard night frosts and snow flurries from the end of August; so also Roos and others. However, the effect on the retreat is the vital issue. — According to Walter the first snow fell between October 26 and 28. Lossberg, whose letters mention the bitter nights of October 30/31 and November 1/2,

creased the never-ending confusion. Indeed, even the lice seemed to seek supremacy, for their number on both officers and privates was in the thousands.

In times when death was near, God sent me help again and again. After midnight, when we pitched camp again following the above-mentioned pursuit by the Russians, a little village stood a quarter of an hour off the highway, and I crept with my master and two horses into a stable that still had a roof. There I saw hanging on a cord behind a grate a smoked pig's head. As if received from the hand of God, I took it off from the cord with a prayer of thanks. I, my master, and my fellow servant ate it with unbelievable appetite, and we felt life come to us again. Then I always thought: "If even a few should get to German ground, it is possible that I with God's help might also reach there." In these days it snowed for the first time, and the snow remained. The cold arrived at the same time, too, and the freezing of the people multiplied the number of the dead. No one could walk fifty paces without seeing men stretched out half or completely dead. According to Napoleon's scheme we were to strike leftward toward Galicia. The Russians, however, hindered us and drove us past Vereia and Verina and to the right into our old, desolate highway.

Finally we went over the battlefield at Moshaisk in the Holy Valley. Here one saw again in what numbers the dead lay. From the battle site on to this place the corpses were dragged from

speaks of a light snow on November 4, a heavy snow (blizzard-like) on November 6. The cold was 4° the night of October 30, Castellane says. According to Yelin (*op. cit.*, p. 10) the first snow fell near Moshaisk on October 27. Coignet says winter definitely set in November 6, Castellane concurs, and it seems confirmed generally. Cf. also P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, pp. 27 f. In fine, the evidence surely does not support the thesis that Napoleon was surprised on his retreat by a premature hard winter.

¹²⁰ Vereia, capital of the government of Vereia, 62 miles WSW. of Moscow. Yelin (*op. cit.*, p. 9) arrives there on October 26. I cannot identify Verina. But see note 128.

¹²¹ Cf. Yelin, *op. cit.*, p. 9: "Beide Teile glaubten sich besiegt, daher Napoleon die nun angetretene Strasse verliess und wieder den Weg auf die alte verheerte Strasse aufsuchte."

¹²² Cf. Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 310: "Napoléon part au petit jour, passe la Kologha, traverse le champ de bataille de la Moskowa, Oct. 29." Yelin (*op. cit.*, pp. 9 f.) relates that he went across the battlefield of Borodino on October 28: "Das Schlachtfeld, woselbst alles, die Leichen, die unnötig geopfert Menschen und Tiere, noch unbeerdigt herumlagen." Cf. also P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, pp. 21 f.

von den Strasen abgeschleppt, und ganze Teiche waren damit angefüllt,¹²³ Gewehrläufe lagen auf vielen Häufen von 15.' - 20.' Hoh und breit aufeinander. wo wir in der Nacht Biwagierten.

Hier war mir Gott abermal wunderbarlich zur Hilfe gekommen. als ich in der Nach mit meiner Feldflasche Wasser zu holen suchte, ich kam an einen See in welchen durch das Eis ein loch gehauen war, und ich schöpfte mein Wasser mit vieler Gewalt durch Einringen der Umstehenden, im Rikweg lag auf dem Boden ein runder Balle einem Toden Schafe gleich, ich hob ihn auf, und erstaunend froh wickelte ich einen Aufgerolten Krimmbelz auseinander,¹²⁴ welcher mir von Kopf bis auf die Füße gieng, nebst einen besondern Kragen der über den Kopf konte gestürzt werden, mit inn Himelsehenden Augen bettete ich wieder zu Gott, und dankte für die sogrosse Gnade welche ich Augenscheinlich, gerade wo die Hilfe am notwendigsten war erhielt.

Ich eilte zu meinen Hern Mayor und hatte den Belz schon angezogen. Er betrachtete mich und rief laut auf — Ey Gott was hast du an! Einen Belz Herr Obrist Wachtmeister habe ich soeben gefunden jezt habe ich doch ein Gedek, O sagte er ich geb dir meinen Belz er ist auch gut, komen wir nach Haus, so kanst ihn wieder haben oder bezahl ich genug dafor. Ich nahm also den seinigen Belz welcher auch schön war und ein grün seitenes Futter hatte, so das er links und rechts getragen werden konte. den andern morgen eilte wieder alles zur Flucht, und keiner wolte der letzte sein.

Nun kamen wir nach Gshadsk, und die Stadt stand schon im Brand, hier wurden wieder viele Kannonen ins Wasser geworfen, und theils vergraben.¹²⁵ Das Getreng war fürchterlich gross, so das ich u: mein Herr Mayor verlohren hatte, nun hatte ich das 2te Pferd für mich allein und konten einander selbigentag, ja 10. Tage lang nicht mehr trefen.

Ich ritt also abends der Arme Abseits um doch für das Pferd etwas Stroh und für mich einen Roggen in abgelegener Gegend

¹²³ See note 67.

¹²⁴ A gray fur made from the pelts of young lambs of the Crimean Peninsula region

the highways, and entire hollows were filled with them. Gun barrels lay one on top of another in many piles from fifteen to twenty feet in height and in width where we bivouacked for the night.

Here God once more came to my help in a curious way. As I sought to fetch water in the night with my field flask, I came to a lake in which a hole had been chopped through the ice, and I drew my water with much effort because of the pressure of those standing around. On the way back, a round ball resembling a dead sheep was lying on the ground. I picked it up and in astonished joy unwrapped a rolled-up krimmer fur that reached from my head down to my feet, besides having a peculiar collar which could be clapped over my head. With my eyes turned to heaven I prayed again to God and gave thanks for the abundant mercy which I had received just when help was obviously most necessary.

I hurried to my major and had already put on the fur. He saw me and called out loudly, "Aye, God! What do you have on?" "A fur, Chief Sergeant, that I found just now. Now I've at least a covering." "Oh," he said, "I'll give you my fur. It's also a good one. If we get home, then you can have it back again, or I'll pay you enough for it." Thus I took his fur, which was also beautiful, having a green silk lining so that it could be worn right side out or inside out. The next morning everyone hurried on his flight, and no one wanted to be the last.

We now came to Gshatsk, and this town was already in flames. Here again many cannon were thrown into the water and part of them buried. The pressure was so frightful that I and my major lost each other. Now I had the second horse to myself, and we could not find each other again that day, nor even for another ten days.

Thus in the evening I rode apart from the army to find in the outlying district some straw for the horse and rye for myself.

(German Krim). Cf. *Schwäb. Wb.*, IV, 757.

¹²⁵ See note 88. Napoleon arrived there on October 29 (*Schuermans, op. cit.*, p. 310); Yelin, on October 30 (*op. cit.*, p. 9).

zu fünden,¹²⁶ ich war nicht allein dan 10 Stunden breit suchte man dem Hunger wegen Lebensmittel, und wen nichts zu fünden war, so konte man hie u: da unter dem Schnee Grautdorschen hervorsuchen,¹²⁷ solchen die Hilze etwas abhauen, und das innere im Mund nach und nach aufführen lassen, jedoch diesesmal wurde mir das 2te bedeutende Glik zu Theil, ich kam in ein noch nicht Abgebrandes Ort, wo noch Korngarben waren, diese legte ich dem Pferd vor, und mehrer Kornehren rüpfte ich ab, Stosste Sie, und legte die mit Spelzen Vermischte Körner in eine Handmihle welche noch in einem Hausse stand, ein, mahlte mit Abwechslung mehrern Soldaten ein Mehl, und legten den Teig in das Kohlenfeuer, welche Leibchen wir nur Faust gross zusammen balten, wen schon das äussere des Leibchens zu Kohlen brente, so konte doch das Brod einwärts gegessen werden, ich erhielt bis 15. solcher Kugeln.

Um weiters vorsehen willen nahm ich so oft ich Korngarben traf, die ehren ab, rieb sie aus, und Speisste der Kerner aus meinen Brodsak tagsüber, auch einige mal habe ich Hanfsamen gefunden und dan auch roh aus der Tasche gegessen, auch gesottenen Hanfsamen war mir eine Delikate Speisse, indem die Körner aufsprangen und eine oeligte Brühe gab, jedoch da ich kein Salz zu kochen konte mangelte es an seiner vollen Kraft.

Als diese gute Nacht zur Hälfte vorbei war legte ich, wie gewöhnlich 4. Garben über den Sattel und ritt der Arme wieder von fornen zu, auf die Nacht aber, um Feuer aufmachen zu können wieder ab der Strasse, meinen Pferd gieng das tiefe Schneewaden zu hart und ich nahm einen Bauernschlitten, welcher nur 2. Baumrinden als Bretter hatte, machte von einem Sak ein Komt um den Halz und von da 2. Strik an den Schlitten, als ich selbige Nacht wieder abfahte musste ich über ein etwa 60' breiten Fluss über welcher nur 4. — 5. Stangen hiniber lagen. ich wusste also kein, anderes Mittel als den Schlitten über die Stangen zu tragen, und das Pferd hiniber zuschwemen, ich trug also den Schlitten ausgelehrter auf den Stangen hiniber, obwohl wegen einbiegen die Füsse bis an das Knie ins Wasser kamen,

¹²⁶ The indefinite article here means "a small quantity of . . .," a frequent use in

I was not alone, for over a strip ten hours wide soldiers sought provisions because of their hunger; and, when there was nothing to be found, they could hunt up cabbage stalks here and there from under the snow, cut off some of the pulp from these, and let the core slowly thaw out in their mouths. Nevertheless, this time I had a second considerable piece of luck. I came to a village not yet burned where there were still sheaves of grain. I laid these before the horse and plucked off several heads of grain. I hulled them, laid the kernels mixed with chaff into a hand grinder which had been left in a house, and, taking turns with several other soldiers, ground some flour. Then we laid the dough, which we rolled into only fist-sized little loaves, on a bed of coals. Although the outside of the loaves burned to charcoal, the bread inside could be eaten. I got as many as fifteen such balls.

For further supply, whenever I came upon sheaves of grain, I picked the heads, rubbed off the kernels, and ate them from my bread sack during the course of the day. Several times I also found hempseed, which I likewise ate raw out of my pocket; and cooked hempseed was a delicacy for me because the grains burst open and produced an oily sauce; yet since I could not get salt for cooking, it did not have its full strength.

When this good night was half over, I laid four sheaves over my saddle and rode to the head of the army as usual. Toward the next night, however, in order to make a fire again, I rode off the highway. Wading in the deep snow was too hard for my horse; so I took a peasant's sled, which had only two slabs of bark for boards, put a collar made from a sack around the horse's neck, and tied two ropes from there to the sled. As I drove on again the same night, I had to cross a river about sixty feet wide, over which only four or five poles lay. I, therefore, knew of no other means than to carry the sled over on the poles and to force the horse to swim across. Accordingly I carried the emptied

Swabian dialect. See *ein Stroh*, note 142.

¹²⁷ I.e., *Kraut-dorschen*, the dialect word for Standard German *Krautstrunk*. Cf. *Schwäb. Wb.*, II, 283, IV, 709.

glücklich hinüber holte das Pferd welches gut schwemen konnte und ein Rusländer war, wieder an den Schlitten, und Fahrt weiter. An diesem Fluss traf ich einen von meinem Orth namens Wittenhöfer, welcher schon Todschwach war an, diesen lies ich aufsitzen und nach etlichen Tagen Starb er.

Diese Schlittenfarth setzte dan weiter über die Abgebrante Stätte¹²⁸ Wiasma Semlevo u: Dorogobusch¹²⁹ ohne meinen Hern zufünden, als ich einst von mienem abenbesagten Brod as, sahen es Franzosen, — diese Unmenschen umringten mich mit dem Vorwand Brod zukaufen, und als hier die Worte Brod gehert wurde stürzte alles auf mich zu, so das ich den Tod nahe dachte, per ausserordentlichen Zufall aber kamen Teutsche welche ich nun zu Hilfe rufte, schlugen dan auf das Pferd so das die meisten über mich herunter fielen und dan alle follens herab geschlagen wurden.

Unter diesen Teutschen befande sich von meinen Regiment 2. Unterofiziers namens N. N. diese nachdem ich frey wahr nahmen mir mein Brod und giengen davon. Nicht meine Rettung wegen sahe ich jetzt ein, haben mir diese geholfen, sondern der Hunger und das Brod waren meine Retter und zugleich Räuber — ungeachtet ich solchen schon ein Brod gegeben hatten, raubten sie mich — Aber ganz anderst meine Liebe Leser ist hierüber zu urtheilen als ihr denkt:¹³⁰ Es giebt Geschichten wo Leuthe wegen Hunger einander selbst mordeten, und aufzehrten — dieses hies ja noch nicht umgebracht, da aber der Hunger auch auf einen Hohen Grad gestiegen war warum konnte solches nicht geschehen, dan nebst Hunger war auch die Sinnesader

¹²⁸ For this Moscow retreat Walter gives a most realistic and generally fair picture as seen by one of that mob which had been the *Grande Armée*. But it has the defects as well as the virtues of such a personal recital. It needs to be collated. Certain aspects, which he only touches, — such as disorderly scrapping of war material and looting, brutality to sick, wounded, and prisoners, savagery of harassing Cossacks, partisans, and peasantry, — get more stress from Bourgoingne, *op. cit.*, chs. 3-8, Roos, *op. cit.*, chs. 9-11, Lossberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-125, Yelin, *op. cit.*, 6-24, or, from the Russian point of view, Sir Robert Wilson, *Private Diary* (London, 1861), I, 214-216; the same, *French Invasion*, pp. 256-261. P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, 3-48, gives an invaluable composite picture. Better than Fain, Ségur, or even Castellane for giving the view of the French headquarters will be found Caulaincourt, *op. cit.*, II, 85-144. He sees a great deal of the horrors and the demoralization and he tells of efforts to cope with it, revealing Napoleon's changing plans and, incidentally, the mooted of the return to Paris as early as October 28 or

sled across successfully, although my feet went knee-deep into the water because the poles sank. I brought the horse, which could swim well, being of a Russian breed, to the sled again, and drove on. At this river I met a man by the name of Wittenhöfer, from my native village, who was already very weak. I let him ride. He died after a few days.

I continued, then, this sled-riding through the burned cities of Viasma, Semlevo, and Dorogobush without finding my master. Once, while I was eating some of my aforementioned bread, several Frenchmen saw me. These inhuman men surrounded me with the pretext of buying bread; and, when the word "bread" was mentioned, everyone bolted at me, so that I thought my death was near; but through an extraordinary chance there came along some Germans, whom I now called to my aid. They struck at my horse so that most of the Frenchmen fell back from me and then were entirely beaten off.

Among these Germans were two under-officers from my regiment called N. and N. After I was free, they took my bread and walked away. Not they, I could see now, but rather their hunger and my bread were both my redeemers and, at the same time, my robbers. Although I had already given them a loaf, they robbed me! But this, my dear readers, is to be judged otherwise than you think. There are stories in which people have murdered and eaten each other on account of hunger, but certainly this incident was still a long way from murder. Since starvation had risen to a high degree, why could not such a thing happen? And, besides that, much of the humanity of man had

29 at Oupenskoie. He does not fail either to take due account of the fighting during the retreat, attacks by Kutusov forces at Medyn, Borovsk, Jelnia (called *Jerina* by Lossberg and perhaps identical with Walter's *Verina*), and the harassments *en route* by Miloradovitch, Platov, and Sislavin. Thus he notes the engagements at Viasma (November 2-3), where Ney and Eugene by saving Davout's demoralized corps saved the army, and thereafter Ney's rear-guard fights at Semlevo and Gorki. He does justice also to the heroic fighting of the 3rd Corps and of the remnants of Scheler's Württembergers. Cf. A. Pfister, *Rheinbund*, I, 131-146.

¹²⁹ Napoleon arrived at Viasma on October 31, at Semlevo on November 2, and at Dorogobush on November 5 (Schuermans, *op. cit.*, pp. 310 f.). Yelin was in Viasma on November 1 (*op. cit.*, p. 12), in Dorogobush on November 6 (*ibid.*, p. 15).

¹³⁰ One of the few passages where Walter addresses his readers directly. See p. 188.

viel Kraft der Menschen bereits verschwunden,¹³¹ ja ich habe damals gehört das wegen Brod mehrere ermordet wurden. ich selbst konnte bei Verwundeten, Erfrührenten, und Verbrenten, wie noch folgen wird solchen Kaltblütig in das Jamernte Angesicht schauen und was anders denken.

Wir kamen a: 12. Novb: vor Smolensk an,¹³² hatten also von Mosgau bisher 26. Tag u: Nachtreissen gemacht ohne einen Tag auszusezen.¹³³ Nimt man taglich nur 12. Stunden zurückgelegt an, so ist bis Smolensk Riteriert worden 312. Stunden.

Als ich bei Smolensk ankam regnete es ziemlich und mein Schlitte musste mit mühe gezogen werden, Als ich gegen die Stadt kam war das Getrüng sogross das ich Stundenlang in den Zug nicht eintrüngen konnte dan die Gart und die Artelerie mit Hülfe der Schadarmen schlugen alles rechts und links aus dem weg: Endlich druckte ich mit meinen Pferd am Kopf haltend mit Gewalt hinein, und mit Klingenhiebe auf mich pasierte ich die Brike hiniber, vor dem Stadthor zog mein aufgelöstes Regiment und ich rechts an die Stadtmauer neben dem Fluss Dniebr, hier lagerten wir uns und mussten 2. Tage lang Kampieren. Wie es vorhergeheisen hat solten wir hier dem Feund eine Schlacht liefern, u: es werde dort in Magazinen Brod und mehl abgefasst werden, jedoch keins von beiden wurde wahr.¹³⁴ Die Noth stieg hier imer grösser, und es wurde Pferde erschossen und gespeisst, da ich nicht einmal ein Fleisch bekommen konnte und der Hunger zu heftig geworden ist, nahm ich meinen mitgeführten Dopf, stellte mich an ein Pferd bei dem Schuss, und fasste das Blut von der Brust auf, welches ich an das Feuer stellte, grünen lies, und ohne Salz die Klumpen verzehrte.

¹³¹ The passage is not quite clear in the German text and therefore freely translated in English.

¹³² Napoleon arrived there on November 9 (Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 311); Yelin, on November 11 (*op. cit.*, p. 15). H. v. Roos also arrived on November 11 and left the night of November 13/14. Cf. Castellane, *op. cit.*, I, 184.

¹³³ If Walter left Moscow on October 19 (not, as he writes, on October 18; see note 105) and arrived at Smolensk on November 12, he traveled only 25 days from Moscow to Smolensk, not 26.

¹³⁴ Cf. Yelin, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 f.: "In Smolensk trafen wir zwei Magazine an; es wurde Branntwein, etwas Brod und Mehl ausgeteilt, allein der Hunger ging soweit, dass wenige

already vanished because of hunger. Indeed, I even heard at that time that several men had been murdered for the sake of bread. I myself could look cold-bloodedly into the lamenting faces of the wounded, the freezing, and the burned, as I shall tell later, and think of other things.

We arrived at Smolensk on November 12, having made, from Moscow to that city, 26 days and nights of travel without pausing a day. If we traveled only twelve hours daily, then we had retreated 312 hours up to Smolensk.

When I arrived at Smolensk, it was raining rather heavily, and my sled could be pulled only with great effort. When I came toward the city, the crowd was so dense that for hours I could not penetrate into the column, for the guard and the artillery with the help of the gendarmes knocked everyone out of the way, right and left. With effort I finally pressed through, holding my horse by the head, and with swords cutting at me I passed over the bridge. In front of the city gate I and my regiment, now disorganized, moved to the right toward the city wall beside the Dnieper River. Here we settled down and had to camp for two days. As had been reported to us beforehand, we were to engage in battle with the enemy here and also to get bread and flour from the warehouses. Neither of the two reports, however, proved to be true. The distress mounted higher and higher, and horses were shot and eaten. Because I could not get even a piece of meat and my hunger became too violent, I took along the pot I carried, stationed myself beside a horse that was being shot, and caught up the blood from its breast. I set this blood on the fire, let it coagulate, and ate the lumps without salt.

daran dachten, sich das Mehl zu einer Speise umzugestalten, sondern sie verschluckten es roh. Es war schauerlich anzusehen, wie viele aus den Händen das Mehl frassen, und dabei das ganz mit Schmutz überzogene schwarze Gesicht und den ungeheuren Bart, den jeder hatte, damit beschmierten. Auch hier hörte, als die Fliehenden sich häuften, alle Ordnung auf, die ausgehungerten Soldaten drängten sich überall hin, wo sie Lebensmittel zu finden glaubten, bemächtigten sich ihrer mit Gewalt und schlugen sich untereinander, um sich das Erhaschte abzujaßen. Die ersten Offiziere hätten keine Ordnung mehr in diese vom Hunger bis zum Tier herabgestimmten Menschen gebracht, sie würden jeden herabgeschlagen haben, und selbst Napoleon hätte die Antwort der Schwaben erhalten: "Zfresse misset mer hau'." Cf. also P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, p. 52.

Wehrend wür bey Smolensk 2 Tage verweilten¹³⁵ rikten die Russen vor und erwarteten uns bey Münzk¹³⁶ Alles eilte dan zur Flucht, Kanonnen wurden in das Wasser geworfen, die Spithäler bereits alle dem Feund über lassen, und wie es allgemein gesprochen wurde, seien die Spithäler angezündt und samt der Manschaft zerbreut worden,¹³⁷ dieses ist um so glaubwurtiger wen man die Behandlung der Gefangenen Russen Bedenkt, dan als wir Sieger über die Russen waren kamen ganze Züge bei uns vorbeey transportiert, und jeder der schwäche halber zurickblieb und die Arriergart rikwärts erreichte, wurde in das Genik geschossen, so das jedesmal das Gehirn neben ihn hinplatzte, so sahe ich alle 50. bis 100. Schritt wieder einen Erschossen dem der Kopf noch rauchte. Dieses Verfahren geschah wegen sicher Stellen der Passasche damit sich in der Folge kein Räuber Cohr bilden könne. Die wenigste aber der Gefangenen wurden von dem HungerDot gerettet.¹³⁸

Als nun der Zug angienß musste ich meinen Schlitten stehen lassen und mein Gepäk auf das Pferd legen, worauf ich auch öfters des Tages mich setzte, die Kälte nahm selbigen Tag wieder zu, und der Weg wurde von dem Regnen glatt wie Spiegel, so das die Pferde in Menge niederfielen und nicht mehr aufstehen konnten,¹³⁹ da mein Pferd ein inländer war so hatte es kein Beschläg, und konte sich imer wieder aufhelfen wen es gestürzt war, ja es hate sogar die gute Eigenschaft an sich das sobald es Bergab gieng setzte es sich auf den Hintern, stellte die vordere Füsse vorwärts und rutschte so bis in das Thal hinunter, ohne das ich abstieg, ander Teutsche Pferde aber hatten Beschläg welche ganz glatt abgeschliffen waren und deswegen sich dem Rutschen nicht

¹³⁵ Yelin speaks of a three days' stay, but he arrived one day in advance of Walter. See note 132. Bourgogne's account is fullest of romantic detail, *op. cit.*, chs. 5 and 6. Bourgogne and Coignet left with the Emperor on November 14.

¹³⁶ Minsk, capital of the government of Minsk. The date is correct, thus giving additional evidence of the validity of Walter's recollections: on November 13, Russian troops under Lambert had occupied Minsk, Napoleon's major supply base, after it had been abandoned prematurely by the Polish general Bronikowski.

¹³⁷ Cf. Yelin, *op. cit.*, p. 16: "Die Stadt war ganz mit Kranken und Verwundeten angefüllt, nicht nur die grossen Gebäude, sondern alle vom Brand verschont gebliebenen Häuser waren zu Krankenhäusern eingerichtet, Fuhrwerke konnte man keine anschaffen,

While we tarried two days at Smolensk, the Russians advanced and awaited us at Minsk. Everyone hastily fled. Cannon were thrown into the water. The hospitals were nearly all left to the enemy; and, as was commonly rumored, the hospitals were set afire and burned with their inmates. This is more credible when one considers the treatment of the captured Russians; for, when we were victors over the Russians, whole columns of captives were transported past us, and anyone who stayed behind because of weakness and fell back as far as the rear guard was shot in the neck so that his brain always crashed down beside him. Thus every fifty to a hundred paces I saw another who had been shot with his head still smoking. All this was done to make our passage safe, so that no robber corps could be formed behind us. Very few of the captives, however, were saved from starvation.

Now, as the march went on, I had to leave my sled behind and to lay my baggage on the horse, upon which I also mounted often during the day. The cold increased again that same day, and the road became as smooth as a mirror from the rain so that the horses fell down in great numbers and could not get up again. Since my horse was a native of the country, it had no horseshoes and could always help itself up again when it had fallen. It had even the good custom, whenever we went downhill, of sitting down on its rump, bracing its front feet forward, and sliding into the valley in this fashion without my dismounting. Other German horses, though, had shoes which were ground entirely smooth and for this reason could not keep themselves from

und auf diese Weise mussten die unglücklichen Schlachtopfer das unvermeidliche Schicksal ihrer Kameraden, die man in andern Städten, als Moskau, Wiasma u. a. zurückgelassen hatte, teilen."

¹³⁸ Cf. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part I, p. 129: "Bei dem Widerwillen der Gefangenen, den ihnen an Kopffzahl meist unterlegenen Eskorten zu folgen, musste das Hinlegen auf dem Marsch und das Herausspringen aus den Kolonnen mit dem Tode bestraft werden. Es wurde eine Anzahl Zuwiderhandelnder erschossen." Cf. Castellane, *op. cit.*, I, 177.

¹³⁹ During these days the temperature fell to 16° below zero, Fahrenheit, according to Larrey. Cf. also Yelin, *op. cit.*, p. 17: "Die Kälte sowie das Elend steigerte sich immer mehr, die Wege wurden uneben, und das Glatteis, durch den Schnee bedeckt, machte sie beinahe ungangbar."

mehr erwehren konten, abgerisen konten die Eiserner auch nicht werden, dan Niemand hatte ein Werkzeug dazu.¹⁴⁰

Bissher hatte ich meinen Herrn Mayor nicht wieder gesehen und glaubte nicht anderst als müsse Tod sein, ich sorgte dan imer für mein Pferd, durch nachts hinausreiten wo ein Dorf Hell brente um etwas Roggengarben für das Pferd, und Roggenkörner für mich zu bekommen, da ich jedoch öfters 4. bis 5. Tage kein Futter bekommen konte, so war es meinen Goniak gleichgiltig,¹⁴¹ wen Er nur selten ein altes Stroh¹⁴² von Lager, oder an einer Brandstätte Dachstroh verwischen konte, von mager werden sah ich ihm nichts an, kam ich nachts etwas zur ruhe so war ich ihm seine Gripe, indem ich alle mahl den Halfter riehmten an meinen Arm oder Fuss anhengte um beim hinweknehmen es bemerken zu können, dan ich legte mich vor seinen Füßen Quer hin, u so er etwas zufressen hatte mahlte er die Kurze Zeit über mit seinen Zähnen fort, so er nichts hatte schnaufte und schnuterte¹⁴³ er über mich her, nicht einmal hatte sein Fuss mich berührt höchstens meinen Belz etwas gedrückt, ahne anbinden des Pferdes an sich selbstn wurde es eim gleich gestohlen.

Von Smolensk rike die Arme a: 16. Novb: unter tausenterlei Gefahren bei Krasnoi an¹⁴⁴ wo inzwischen die Russen uns von forne umflügelt empfiengen, hier stellte sich die französische Gartte mit der übrigen bewafner Manschaft, was noch zusammen zu bringen war an der Strasse auf, und unterhielt das Feuren sogut wie möglich gegen den Feund, es musste zwar der Feund weichen allein, jede unserer Windung wurde von ihm Lebhaft beschossen, Leither gieng das gröste Elend jederzeit an den Armen Kranken hinaus, welche gewöhnlich nur um die Pferd

¹⁴⁰ Plural form of *Eisen*, i.e., *Hufeisen*, "horseshoe," in Swabian dialect. Cf. Schwäb. Wb., II, 674: "Moderne Pluralform *Eisener*." See *Pferdteisner*, note 221. Cf. P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, p. 33: "Der fehlerhafte Hufbeschlag war schuld daran und der Mangel an Eisnägeln und Eiskrampen, die unbegreiflicherweise in dem ganzen Heere kaum vorhanden gewesen zu sein scheinen."

¹⁴¹ From the Russian word *kon*, "horse, stallion," from which a diminutive form *konjok* may be derived. The initial *G* is due to Swabian dialect pronunciation. See note 162. Cf. also P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, p. 9: "Kuniaks oder Konis: kleine russische Pferde. Auch die Kavallerie war jetzt grossenteils mit solchen beritten." Castellane and others speak of them as a small hardy breed of ponies.

¹⁴² See note 126.

slipping; nor could these irons be torn off, since no one had a tool for that.

Until now I had not seen my major again and believed nothing else than that he must be dead. I always cared for my horse by riding out at night where some village blazed brightly, in order to get some rye sheaves for the horse and rye grains for myself. I often could not get feed for four or five days, but my "Goniak" was indifferent if only from time to time he could get some old straw from the camp or some thatch straw from a burned house, nor could I notice that he was getting thin. If I found some rest at night, I served as a crib for him. I always hung the halter strap on my arm or foot so that I could notice any attempts to take him away. I laid myself squarely before his feet; and, when he had something to eat, he ground away with his teeth for a short time. When he had nothing, he sniffed and snorted all over me. Not once did his hoof touch me. At the most he pressed my fur coat a little. Unless you tied your horse to yourself, the horse was stolen immediately.

After leaving Smolensk, we arrived on November 16, amid a thousand kinds of danger at Krasnoë, where the Russians received us, having in the meantime circled around to our front. Here the French Guard, with the remaining armed forces that could still be brought together, took its position along the highway and kept up the firing against the enemy as well as possible. Although the enemy had to yield, any movements on our part drew vigorous firing upon us. Unfortunately, all the time the greatest misery fell upon the poor sick, who usually had to be

¹⁴³ Cf. Schwäb. Wb., V, 1083: "Vom Pferd: 'einen vibrierenden Ton mit den Lippen hervorbringen.' 'Wiehern' Eilwangen." The latter meaning of the word cannot apply here.

¹⁴⁴ Krasnoë (Krasnoie, Krasny), 18 miles WSW. of Smolensk, on the Sviniaia. The date is correct: Napoleon had arrived there on November 15 (Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 311). Yelin, who reached Krasnoë on November 16, says that the Württembergers had got there the day before (*op. cit.*, p. 20). The skirmishes near Krasnoë took place from November 15 to 18. Cf. Yelin, *op. cit.*, p. 23: "Bei Krasnoi wurden wir von den uns ganz umgebenden Russen angegriffen. Napoleon mit dem Rest der Garden und was noch sonst unter den Waffen war, drängte den Feind zurück und machte uns vorwärts Platz, wohin dann alles in Unordnung floh." During these days one of the three Württemberg battalions was with the rear guard under General Ney, while the other two, and among them Walter, were marching behind the French Guard.

und Wägen nicht follens zu verlieren, über die Wägen abgeschmissen und unter dem Feunde erfrühren mussten, dan wer ligen blieb hatte an keine Rettung zu denken.

Hier hörte ich einstmal nahe vor mir meinen Hern Sprechen (vielmehr Schreyen) worauf ich rufte — Herr Obristwachtmeister¹⁴⁵ sein Sie's — ! Er blikte mich an und rief vor Freuden auf Ach Gott lieber Kamerdiener bist du, O jertz bin ich aber froh das ich dich wieder habe, o ich freue mich das du noch Lebst. ich erwiederte meine Freude auch an seinem Wiedersehen, dan er hatte auch seinen alten teutschen Fuchsen noch, sein Pferd von Hausse sein anderer Bediente war auch bei ihm mit einem 2ten Pferd. nun fragte er mich ob ich seinen Zukerhud und Kaffee auch zum theil noch hätte — Leiter musste ich sagen, als ich einst bei jenem Abgebrandendorfe hinter einer Schiltmauer mich nachts hinlegte kamen die Gartekirasier auf mich angedrängt, risen mir den Sak, mit dem Zuker und Kafee herunter, und bey nahe erhielt ich das Pferd nicht mehr, ich dahero nachgeben und eine ander Stelle zum Lager wehlen, und als ich meinen 2ten Plaz einnahm lag Stroh umher und das Pferd konte davon seinen Hunger stillen, ich legte mich auf eine Stelle welche nicht gefrohren und weich war, vor Abmarschieren dachte ich doch zu sehen warum unter mir so weich war und etwas warm, und ich sahe einen Toden Man dessen ungefrorener Bauch mir zum guten Bette gedient hatte, und setzte meine Reisse weiter ahne ihnen Herr Obristwachtmeister mehr treffen zu können. Herr Mayor sagte dan das Hat nun nichts zu sagen, ich bin froh das du wieder da bist.

General Ney hatte die Arrirgart von dem man nichts mehr wusste, Er schlagte sich jedoch wieder durch zu uns, seine Mannschaft war aber zur Hälfte verlohren.¹⁴⁶ Der Marsch musste weiter beginnen und das Hauen Prigeln und Scharmizeln wurde Fürchterlich begonnen, das Mordgeschrey rolte rings umher und

¹⁴⁵ Obristwachtmeister, archaic for Oberst-, refers to the rank of a cavalry officer corresponding to that of major in the infantry. Cf. also *Schwäb. Wb.*, V, 18.

¹⁴⁶ Ney's corps, which since Viasma had been the rearguard, was so decimated when it reached Smolensk that it had to be rebuilt. This delayed his departure and thus exposed him on November 18 to the brunt of the attack by Kutusov, whom the units

thrown from the wagons just to keep us from losing horses and wagons entirely and who were left to freeze among the enemies, for whoever remained lying behind could not hope to be rescued.

Here I once heard my master speak (rather yell) close in front of me, whereupon I called, "Chief Sergeant, is it you?" He glanced at me and cried out for joy, "Oh, God, dear valet, is it you? Oh, now I am glad that I have you again. Oh, I am so happy that you are still alive." I also showed my joy over this reunion, for my master still had his old German chestnut, his horse from home, and his other attendant was also with him with a second horse. Now he asked me whether I still had part of his sugar loaf and coffee. Sadly I had to say that once when I lay down behind a battlement near a fire-razed village at night a group of Cuirassier Guards pressed upon me and tore away from me the sack with the sugar and coffee; and I almost failed to keep my horse. I gave in, therefore, and chose another place to lie down, and in occupying my second spot I found straw lying about, with which my horse could still his hunger. I myself lay down on a spot that was soft and not frozen. Before departing I thought I would see why it was so soft and warm under me, and I saw a dead man whose unfrozen belly had served as my good bed. "And I set out upon my journey again, Chief Sergeant, without being able to meet you again." The Major then said, "That does not matter now. I am glad that you are here again."

General Ney, about whom no one knew anything any more, was in charge of the rear guard. He fought his way through to us. However, his forces were half gone. The march had to go on; and the striking, clubbing, and skirmishing commenced so frightfully that the cry of murder echoed all about. The Cos-

leaving Smolensk during November 13-16 had fought off at Krasnoe (November 15-17). Disregard of orders by Davout left Ney unsupported, but by desperate fighting, which involved crossing the Dnieper on bad ice and following the right bank, Ney finally got through to Eugene, who was coming to his aid from Orscha. There Napoleon was waiting, full of anxiety over Ney's fate. Cf. Sir Robert Wilson, *Private Diary*, I, 225. On the part which the 3rd battalion of Württembergers under Capt. Fridolin had in this fighting, cf. A. Pfister, *Rheinbund*, I, 141-146. Note also Caulaincourt, *op. cit.*, II, 145-165, and Castellane, *op. cit.*, I, 188-192.

die Kosaken rükten von allen Seiten unter die Arme¹⁴⁷ wir kamen dan gegen *Dambrovna*¹⁴⁸ und das Getrüng war so gross das gewöhnlich die Fussgehende an den Engbässen, als Sümpfe, Flüsse u: Briken, links und rechts der Strasse abschlagen und geprügelt wurden, hier wurde ich und mein Herr Mayor auseinander gedrückt und verlohren uns wieder. Es war nicht möglich einander zu erkenen als an der Stimme des Redens, alles war verkleitet in Belze, Lumpen, Tücher, um die Köpfe, runde Hüte, Baurenkapen, und viele mit Priesterornade aus den Kirchen,¹⁴⁹ es glich einer umgekehrten Weld, ich hatte an meinen Helm gleich Anfangs der Ritterade genug und setzte einen runden Hut auf umwickelte meinen Kopf mit seitenen u: Muselinenen Tüchern, und die Füsse mit dicken wollenen Tuch, hatte 2. Westen an, auf dem Kollet einen Russischen dicken, und grossen Mantel welchen ich in Smolensk schon hineinwärts einem russen Auszog und den meinigen gab, und dan erst meinen dicken Pelz. Alles war so umfuttert das nur die Augen eine Oefnung hatten und heraus schnaufen konte, Von dieser Oefnung musste ich von Zeit zu Zeit das Eis ablössen so sich durch den Hauch gleich wieder Ansetzte.

In *Domprovna* nachts,¹⁵⁰ als der Feund sein Manöver aufgab, lagerte sich alles in und umher, jedesmal wurde das Feuren zum Wärmen einen Landstrich von 4 Stunden lang und breit gesehen welches den Himmel wie rothes tuch erröthete, worzu die Brenende Dörfer seitwärts das mehrste beytrugen, und das Geschrey, schlagen und Jammern endete keine Minute, nun und nun Starben, u: Erfrührten Leuthe welche sich gewöhnlich dem Feuer zutrükten aber selten hingelassen wurden, so starben sie hinter dem Feuer und gar oft wurden solche noch zu Sizpolster verwend und nicht im Schnee sitzen zumüssen.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Referring to the various encounters near Krasnoe. Cf. Bourgonne, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-107.

¹⁴⁸ Dubrovna, 47 miles NNE. of Mohilev, on the Dnieper. Napoleon arrived there on November 18, 1812 (Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 312); Yelin, on the same day (*op. cit.*, p. 231). Cf. Caseliane, *op. cit.*, I, 189 f., Bourgonne, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

¹⁴⁹ Yelin (*op. cit.*, p. 6) in speaking of the army's departure from Moscow gives the following description: "Aber welch erschreckendes Bild gab jetzt die grosse Armee! Selbst die noch geordneten Krieger waren mit allem Möglichen aus Moskau bepackt und

sacks advanced upon the army from all sides. We came toward Dubrovna, and the throng was so great that those on foot were usually beaten and cudgelled to the right and the left of the roadway at such narrow passages as marshes, rivers, and bridges. Here my major and I were pushed apart and lost each other again. It was not possible to recognize one another except by voice. Everyone was disguised in furs, rags, and pieces of cloth; they wore round hats and peasant caps on their heads, and many had priests' robes from the churches. It was like a world turned upside down. I had had enough of my helmet at the very beginning of the retreat. I put on a round hat, wrapped my head with silk and muslin cloths and my feet with thick woollen cloth. I had on two vests and over my doublet a thick and large Russian coat which I had taken from a Russian in exchange for my own at Smolensk on the trip into Russia; and over all this I wore my thick fur. I was so enwrapped that only my eyes had an opening out of which I could breathe. From time to time I had to break off from this opening the ice that would immediately form again from my breath.

At night in Dubrovna, when the enemy had given up their maneuvers, everyone settled down in and around the place. Every night the fires for warming could be seen over a region four hours long and wide, reddening the sky like red cloth. The burning villages at the side contributed most to this sight, and the shrieking, beating, and lamenting did not stop for a minute. Again and again people died, and sometimes froze to death; these were people who pressed toward the fire but were seldom permitted to get there; so they died away from the fire, and very often they were even converted into cushions in order that the living would not have to sit in the snow.

überladen, jeder wollte etwas mitnehmen, vielleicht in seine Heimat bringen. . . . Der Tross aber glich einem Gesindel, das, wie aus einem fremden, unbekannten Lande kommend, auf einmal zu uns gestossen wäre, mit allen erdenklichen Kleidungsstücken ange-tan, jetzt schon eine Maskerade bildete." Similarly on p. 15 (*ibid.*). Cf. P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, pp. 7 ff., Bourgogne, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-59.

¹⁵⁰ A different spelling of the name of Dubrovna. See note 148.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Steinmüllers *Tagebuch*, p. 47: "Manche setzten sich auf die toten Körper ihrer Brüder und blickten starr nach den glühenden Kohlen; fingen diese an, zu verlöschen, so

In jedem Bivag schlichen sich nachts soldaten umher welche gleich Gespenster aussahen, ihre Gesichtsfarbe, ihre ächzende Adamzüge, ihr dumpfes murmeln, stellte sich gresslich vor Augen, dan wo sie hinliefen blieben sie Trostloss, und niemand lies die Todenschatten an das Feuer anschließen,¹⁵² gewöhnlich mussten 6—8 u: 10. zusammen dretten um ein Feuer aufzumachen, da kein anderes Holz als Balkenstücke von zerbranten Häusern, oder umliegenden Bäumen, zertrümmerten Wägen & zu haben wahr und ohne zusamendrettener Manschafts nichts ausgerichtet werden konte. Auch türftten nicht alle zugleich am Feuer einschlafen, indem vor stehlen und räuben keiner sicher war.

Als wir nach Orscha kamen¹⁵³ hies es wir fasen in einem Magazin Schu und Brod, auch Haber für Pferde, allein diese Austheilung war nicht möglich, ungeachtet der Wache so um die Magazine standen,¹⁵⁴ konte keine Thüre geöffnet werden, da alles sich schlug und hieb um der Thüre nahe zu komen, ich Eilte daher zuerst um Haber zu erhalten, es war aber nicht möglich, bis die Wacht nicht mehr vorstandt thun konte und die Thüre eingesprünget wurde, ich stieg dan durch eine Fensteröffnung und mit Beyhilfe meiner Kamuraden steckte ich einige Säke haber an, und brachte ihn zum Pivagfeuer, gleich darauf kam einer der Auch theil an meinen Feuer hatte mit 2. Leibchen Brod, — nun klopfte jedem das Herz vor Begier u: Alle sprangen dem Brodmagazin zu, als wir kinkamen konte niemand mehr hinen, die so innen waren konten vor Druk nicht heraus und andere nicht hinein, was ist zu thun viele schwache Soldaten lagen auf dem Boden und wurden unter fürchterlichem Geschrey zertreten. Ich mate mich wieder an eine Fensteröffnung ries

sanken sie nieder, um nicht mehr aufzustehen." Note a very like incident in Bourgoigne, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 f. But for stark horror unsurpassed in the retreat narratives there is the record of the bivouac of 300 dead on November 8 at Solovjeva. Cf. Roos, *op. cit.*, p. 174; P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, p. 53. A very similar incident on the Toloczin-Bobri road is told by Caulaincourt, *op. cit.*, II, 171.

¹⁵² Cf. Yelin, *op. cit.*, p. 31: "Wie Gespenster schlichen sie auf den Brandstätten und Biwaks umher, suchten die Toten aus und fanden unter diesen oft selbst ihr Ende . . . ! Die Kälte war ausserordentlich, die entkräfteten Menschen, die sich bis daher mühsam geschleppt hatten, schwankten gleich Gespenstern dahin, mit der grössten Anstrengung brachten sie einen Fuss vor den andern, tiefe Seufzer entstiegen ihrer Brust . . ." And Steinmüllers Tagebuch, p. 47: "Auch erblickte man Unglückliche, die vom Rauch und vom Blut des Pferdefleisches, das sie verzehrt hatten, im Gesichte ganz geschwärzt waren,

In every bivouac soldiers who looked like spectres crept around at night. The color of their faces, their husky breathing, and their dull muttering were horribly evident; for wherever they went they remained hopeless; and no one allowed these shades of death to drag themselves to the fire. Usually six, eight, or ten of us had to combine to build a fire, since no other wood was to be had except rafter pieces from burned houses, or trees lying around, shattered wagons, etc., and without the coöperation of the men nothing could be accomplished. Neither did we dare to fall asleep at the fire all at the same time, because no one was safe from stealing and robbery.

As we came to Orscha, it was said that we would get shoes and bread from a magazine, also oats for the horses; but this was impossible. In spite of the guards stationed around the storehouses, none of the doors could be opened, since everyone hit and shoved each other in order to get close to a door. I hurried there at first to obtain oats, but that was impossible until the guards could no longer stand their ground and the doors were sprung open. Then I climbed through a window opening, took several sacks of oats with the help of my comrades, and brought them to the camp fire. Immediately thereafter a soldier who also shared in my fire came with two little loaves of bread. Now everyone's heart beat with eagerness, and everyone sprang toward the bread store. When we arrived, no one could get inside any more, and those within could not come out because of the pressure. What was to be done? Many weak soldiers lay on the floor and were trampled down, screaming frightfully.

und die nun wie Gespenster um die brennenden Häuser herumschlichen, die Leichname ihrer Kameraden anstierten, dann niederstürzten und starben."

¹⁵³ Orscha (Orsha, Orzha), 44 miles N. of Mohilev, on the Dnieper, here joined by the Orschitsa. Napoleon arrived there on the evening of November 19 (Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 312). Cf. Castellane, *op. cit.*, I, 190.

¹⁵⁴ Orscha was a critical point in Napoleon's retreat. He had just had news of the loss of Minsk and was desperate over the fate of Ney, for whose safety, he said, he would give all the gold in the vaults of the Tuileries. The disorderly mob, here again, dissipated its own hopes of help from the magazines at Orscha. Napoleon sought to cope with the desperate situation by another effort to reorganize his horde and by destroying everything that might have hampered the race for Poland. In this endeavor he made the fatal mistake of burning his pontoons. Cf. H. B. George, *op. cit.*, 238 ff., Bourgogne, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 f., *Fam. MSS.* 1812, II, 273.

den Laden, das hölzerne Gitter u: Fenster aus, und bekam auch ein Leibchen fünfe, jedoch zertreten u: zerstückert,¹⁵⁵ dies war seit Mosgau das 2te Brod für welches ich abermal Gott unter Trenen dankte.

Jetzt waren wir am Feuer alle froh, und reissten mit gesterkten Muth unsern fernern Schicksal entgegen. Imerhin nahm ich mein Bewusstsein zusammen und machte mich jederzeit mehr vor, als hinten an in der Armee, gar oft musste ich von fornen wieder den umschwermenden Kossaken wegen zurik, und schloss wieder forn an den Zug an um nicht hinten abgeschnitten zu werden.

Zwischen Orscha u: Kochanova¹⁵⁶ ritt ich wieder der Arme seitwärts auf ein Dorf welches in Brand stand, um mich die kurze Zeit in der Nacht zu wärmen und zu suchen was möglich war, kaum hatte ich mich gelagert, so kamen die Kosaken und fügen ab von uns was sie erwischen konte, mein Pferd welches eine sonderbare Vernunft hatte (dan so bald als gefeiert wurde lief es aus al seinen Kräften jede Wendung ungezwungen ohne bemerkter Gefahr aber half oft das schlagen nichts um geschwind zu reiten) es rettete mich also durch flucht und stossten wieder an der Arme an, die Fussgehende so auch den Seitenmarsch mitmachten, wurden gefangen und Ausgeplintert, gewöhnlich wurden die Franzosen von den Russen niedergehauen und nicht Bartoniert was Teutsche waren turften sicher auf Barton rechnen, wie es geheisen hat habe der Russische Kaiser zur Schonung der Teutschen Befehl gegeben, indem bekantlich die Kaisern von Haus Baden abstamt.¹⁵⁷

Wehrend meiner Nebenritterade lag auf dem Boden eine schöne schwarze Berenhaut mit Kopf und Brazen,¹⁵⁸ welche die Flüchtlinge wegwerfen mussten, diese nahm ich unter wehrenden Hurageschrei in der Hofnung das meinige nach Teutschland zu bringen, dan ich hatte zerschiedene Silbergefässe aus Mosgau

¹⁵⁵ The dialect word for Standard German *zerstückt*, "broken to pieces."

¹⁵⁶ Kochanova, about 20 miles W. of Orscha. Napoleon arrived there on November 21 (Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 312), and so did Yelin (*op. cit.*, p. 26). Cf. Bourgogne, *op. cit.*, p. 125: "We stayed that night in a village called Kokanow, of which nothing remained but a barn and two or three houses."

I made for a window opening again; tore out the shutter, the wooden grating, and the window; and got five of the loaves, though they were trampled and broken. This was since Moscow the second bit of bread, for which I thanked God anew with tears.

Now we were all happy by the fire, and with renewed spirits we resumed our journey toward whatever fate had in store for us. Always I set my mind to it and constantly made my way toward the front of the army rather than to the rear. Very often I had to go back because of the Cossacks roaming about; then I joined the front of the column again so as not to be cut off from behind.

Between Orscha and Kochanova I again rode off to the side of the army toward a village which stood in flames, in order to warm myself for a short time in the night and to seek for whatever was available. No sooner had I lain down than the Cossacks came and caught whomever of us they could get. My horse had a peculiar intelligence; for, as soon as shots were fired, it turned and ran of its own accord with all its strength. In the absence of danger, however, striking it often did no good when I wanted to ride fast. Thus it saved me by flight, and we headed toward the army again. Those on foot who had also made the side march were caught and plundered. The Frenchmen were usually struck down by the Russians and not pardoned. Those who were German could reckon on pardon with certainty because, as it was said, the Russian Emperor had commanded that the Germans be spared, since the Empress, as is known, was a descendant of the house of Baden.

While on my side march I saw lying on the ground a beautiful black bearskin with head and claws, which fugitives had had to throw away. With cries of "hurrah" I took possession of this in the hope of bringing my belongings to Germany, for I had various silver vessels from Moscow which were worth from three

¹⁵⁷ Tsar Alexander I in 1793 had married Princess Maria Luisa of Baden (Elizabeth Feodorovna).

¹⁵⁸ The dialect word for Standard German *Franken*, "paws."

mit welche 3. bis 400 f. an werth hatten nebst noch Seidenzeug, Muselin & welchen ich auf den stehengebliebenen Wägen im Überfluss haben konte, jedoch alles fand sein Ende. Die Ritterade führte über Kochanova Toloczin Krupky, Bobr, Liecnize nach Borisov,¹⁵⁹ unter diesen Tag und Nacht Gewühlen welche mich kaum in 4. oder 5. Nächten einige Stunden zu ruhen oder zu schlumern zu kamen¹⁶⁰ wurde mir mein Pferd mit dem Riemen an meinen Arm gebunden, abgeschnitten und unbemerkt hinweggeführt, als ich bei dem Aufwachen jedesmal gewöhnt war den Riemen zu zihen um mein Pferd zu bemerken fühlte ich dieses mal kein Pferd, ich sprang auf und jetzt wohin; ich dachte mir Wohl wen ich die ganze Nacht Zeit hätte zu suchen, so könnte mich nur ein Wunder zu meinem Pferd führen, um sonngewisser wän mein Pferd schon auf dem Marsch ist; jedoch etwas musste ich thun — ich lief links und rechts zurück u: vor, und wo ich denen Pferden nahe sauen wolte,¹⁶¹ war ich vor schlagen und Hauen das Leben nicht sicher, dan vor Stehlen und rauben konte nicht genug gehütet werden, gewöhnlich musste einer von den an Feuersizenden wache halten. zumal sahe ich meinen Koniak¹⁶² vor einer Kapelthüre¹⁶³ stehen und war mit dem Riemen an den Soldaten gebunden welcher über der Thüre einwärts schlief; nun ganz stille Schnitt ich den Riemen abermal ab und Ritt meinem Feuer zu. Schlafen türfte ich nicht mehr dachte ich, damit wen mein Liebhaber wieder kommt ich mit ihm Sprechen könne.

Diese Nacht kam ich per Zufall zu einem Kamuraden von B: namens Sch: es war der 3te Man von meinem Oberamt¹⁶⁴ den

¹⁵⁹ Toloczin, about 15 miles W. of Kochanova; Napoleon arrived there on November 22. The following two names, Krupky and Bobr, are given in reverse order. Napoleon arrived on November 23 at Bobr, which is about 20 miles W. of Toloczin, and on November 24 at Krupky, a few miles W. of Bobr (Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 312). Yelin (*op. cit.*, p. 26) gives the same dates. Liecnize is probably Loschniza (Łosznitz), where Napoleon arrived on the evening of November 24. — These last bitter cold days of marching through heavy birch woods rank among the most terrible of the retreat until the Beresina. Cf. Caulaincourt, *op. cit.*, II, 170 ff.; Castellane, *op. cit.*, I, 193; Bourgonne, *op. cit.*, pp. 130 ff. And they were critical days, with news so alarming that at Toloczin the papers of the Secretariat of State were burned by Daru, while at Bobr Napoleon ordered his men to destroy the regimental eagles of the cavalry remnants, which were combined into that fated unit, the "Holy Squadron." See note 179. Even the arrival of rice wagons from Baden and of fresh troops was of no avail. Cf. Roos, *op. cit.*, p. 200, and see note 160.

to four hundred florins. Besides this, I had silk goods, muslin, etc., such as I was able to take in abundance from the stalled wagons. Nevertheless, all this came to nothing. — The retreat led through Kochanova, Toloczin, Krupky, Bobr, and Liecnize to Borissov. In the bustle by day and by night that hardly let me rest or sleep even a few hours in four or five nights, my horse, which was tied to my arm by a strap, was cut off and led away unnoticed. Since I was always accustomed to pulling on the strap on waking up to see whether my horse was still there, I pulled and this time felt no horse. I jumped up — and now what? I thought to myself, even if I had the whole night to spend looking, only a miracle could lead me to my horse, and the likelihood was all the more uncertain if my horse was already on the march. However, I had to do something. I ran left and right, back and forth; and, whenever I tried to run close to a horse, my life was endangered by whipping and beating, for one could not take enough precaution against theft and robbery: usually one of those sitting by the fire had to keep watch. All at once I saw my “Koniak” standing before a chapel door with his strap tied to a soldier who was sleeping inside the doorway. Very softly now I in my turn cut the strap and rode toward my fire. I dared not sleep any more, I thought, so that if my horse-lover returned I could speak with him. . . .

This night I came by chance upon a comrade from B. by the name of Sch. This was the third man from my district whom

¹⁶⁰ During these days Napoleon retreated with great speed in order to reach the Beresina. It may be interesting to see what impression the retreating army made upon the troops who had not advanced as far as Moscow and who now met it at this spot: “Am 25. November mittags langten wir zu Loschnitz an. Aber! in welch kläglichem Zustand befand sich diese sog. grosse Armee! Alles lief durcheinander, jede Haltung war verloren, die Soldaten beobachteten keine Kriegszucht mehr. Nur bei den Fahnen und Adlern bemerkte man noch einige bewaffnete Mannschaft, die übrigen waren ohne Waffen, in Lumpen und Pelze gehüllt!” Steinmüllers Tagebuch, pp. 30 ff. Cf. Roos, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

¹⁶¹ Sauen, i.e., “to run like a hog,” in Swabian dialect a very characteristic expression for Standard German laufen; the latter, in the dialect, means “to go, to walk.” See note 90. Cf. Schwäb. Wb., V, 605.

¹⁶² See note 141. But this time the word is spelled correctly with initial K and perhaps associated with German Kognak (in popular pronunciation Koniak).

¹⁶³ German Kapelle in Swabian dialect is pronounced khabl. Cf. Schwäb. Wb., IV, 207.

¹⁶⁴ Oberamt, i.e., one of the 64 districts into which Württemberg used to be divided. Walter's Oberamt is Ellwangen.

ich von Smolensk bis Moskau und hierher zurück getroffen habe, diesen hatte auch ein Offizier als treuen Freund bei sich, es konnte nämlich der Name Johan oder mein Bursch nicht mehr nach früherer Art seinen Charakter. jeder Soldat glich einem Offizier da die Uniformen gleich auszeichneten waren, und kein Vorgesetzter konnte einem Gemeinen Befehlen, Offizier gleich den Gemeinen wurden von dem Feuer geschlagen wo sie sich ohne Verdienst gemachten Anspruch zutragen wollten, nur Gegenseitige Unterstützung verschaffte noch treue Freunde.¹⁶⁵ Dieser besagte Landsman um welchen ich früher so gerne war, hatte aus Moskau noch etwas Reis, jedoch nur eine Hand voll, zu diesem hatte ich ein Stückchen Fleisch, welches ich von einer Hundshaut, die so eben unweit unsers Feuers da lag: noch den ganzen Kopf an sich hatte, von den Ohren nebensü Abschnitt, um nur den Wasser einen Geschmack zugeben und den Magen zu erwärmen, siedeten wir beides. Als es nun nur halb gekocht war, schritten wir zum Essen, und ungeachtet, das Fleisch schon ziemlich gestunken hatte und kein Salz dabei war zehrten wir alles mit Höchstem Abgeditt auf, und fühlten uns glücklich einmal etwas warmes erhalten zuhaben.¹⁶⁶

Einige Zeit vor dem Abmarsch sagte er "ich habe noch ein Brod gehabt für meinen Herrn, du hast's mir genommen." Dieses war meinem Gefühl ein Schmerz den ich in meinem Leben nie vergessen kan. Denkwürdig ist es wie eine Meinung, welche ganz falsch war, einen von Freund zum Schurken umschaffen, und wegen ein wenig Brod zur schändlichen Ungestalt eines Menschen, machen kan. Hier sahe ich wahrhaft wie tief der Verstand unter uns gesunken, das Gehirn erfroren, und Gefühl gar keines mehr dawar. Ich schwur und sagte, Kamerad du irrst dich ich habe kein Brod gesehen noch genommen; lieber wolte ich dir Brod geben als nehmen. Es half nichts er blieb darauf behart, — und ihn hatt auch der Tod gefunden.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Steinmüllers Tagebuch, p. 27: "In dieser Nacht (12/13. November) kam uns zum ersten Mal unsere Notlage zum Bewusstsein. [Steinmüller had not been in Moscow.] Nirgends konnte man sich Holz verschaffen, und wollte man, von Kälte erstarrt, sich einem Feuer nahen, so wurde man von denen, die es angezündet hatten, unhöflich weggewiesen." And Yelin, *op. cit.*, p. 12: "Die langen Nächte waren fürchterlich,

I met on the way from Smolensk to Moscow and back to this place. An officer also had this man with him as a faithful friend, for he no longer could be distinguished as "Johan" or servant[?]. Indeed, every soldier was like an officer now, since none of the uniforms showed any distinction in rank and no superior could command a private. Officers were beaten away from the fire just as privates were whenever they tried to press forward without merited claim. Only mutual support still procured true friendship. This aforesaid countryman, whom I had once liked so well, still had some rice from Moscow, though only a handful. Along with this, I had a little piece of meat which I cut off next to the ears from a dog's pelt with the whole head on it that lay not far from our fire. Just to give the water flavor and to warm our stomachs, we boiled the two together. Now, when it was only half cooked, we started eating; and, although the meat already stunk a good deal and there was no salt with it, we devoured everything with the best appetite, feeling ourselves lucky to have for once obtained something warm.

Some time before the departure, he said to me, "I had a loaf of bread for my master. You have taken it from me." This was a pain to my feelings which I can never in my life forget. It is noteworthy how an opinion which is entirely false can turn a friend into a scoundrel and change him into a shameful caricature of a human being on account of a bit of bread. Here I saw truly how low reason had sunk with us: our brains were frozen, and there was no feeling left. I swore and said, "Comrade, you are wrong. I have not seen or taken any bread. I would rather give you bread than take it." It did no good. He remained firm in his opinion, and death soon found him.

das grüne Holz wollte nicht brennen, und bis dieses herbeigeschafft war, konnte man es kaum aushalten, viele erfroren bei dieser Arbeit, an der die höchsten Offiziere teilnehmen mussten, denn wer beim Feuer sein wollte, musste auch dazu beigetragen haben. Oft kam es, wenn das Feuer angezündet war, dass Stärkere kamen und die ersteren davonjagten, wobei es öfters zu Mord und Totschlag kam."

¹⁰⁸ The stretch from Toloczin to Losznitz, where Napoleon got word of the burning of the Borissov bridge, was the scene of one of the most desperate parts of the retreat, during a period of cold as extreme as that which prevailed in the journey from Semlevo to Smolensk, and accompanied by the same horrors. Cf. *Bourgogne*, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-134; *Caulaincourt*, *op. cit.*, II, 171; *P. Holzhausen*, *op. cit.*, part II, pp. 86 ff.

Noch ehe ich nach Borisov kam, wurde hinter einem Wald nachts gegen 11. Uhr Bivagiert und es schiene als hätten die Russen uns ganz umschlossen, dan die Kanonat donnerte von allen Seiten auf uns los und musste so lang in Eile Ritteriert werden bis der Feund Mütthe halber nachlies, alles schlug Haute und Jagte unter uns drauflos als weren wir selbst Feunde untereinander. Jedes mahl im Bivag schlossen sich teutsche zusammen und machten partienweis ein Feuer, so auch ich da wieder. Es waren namtentlich württembergische unterofizier und Soldaten die mit mir Gemeinschaftliches Feuer hielten, und jeder brattete für sich sein Pferdfleisch das er unterwegs mühesam, und mehrtheils unter raufen u: Schlagen, abschnid, dan sobald ein Pferd stürzte und nicht gleich aufstand, wurde haufenweis darüberhergefallen, und öfters Lebendig an allen Seiten geschnitten,¹⁶⁷ das Fleisch war leither nur ganz mager, und nur Haut mit wenig rothen Fleisch konte erobert werden, jeder steckte es an einen Steken oder Sabel brente das Har im Feuer ab, brente es solang bis das ausere schwarz gebrant war, dan wurde umher das Stük abgebissen, und dan wieder in das Feuer gestekt, zum Sieden konte man selten Zeit haben und Döpfe hatte unter 20. Man nicht einer.¹⁶⁸

Als hier das Nachtessen ein Ende hatte legten wir uns alle, und ich schlafte ein, mein Pferd war an meinen Arm angebunden wie jedesmal geschah. in kurzer Zeit rief einer von meinen so aufrichtigen Kammuraden, du schau nach deinem Pferd das nicht gestohlen wird; ich sagte es ist ja da zum zweiten mal wurde ich nicht mehr geweckt meine Landsleuthe schnitten den Riemen ab und schlichen davon — hier sahe ich mich nun wachent verlassen, — Gott dachte ich, wer ist der mich Rettet, was ist zu thun, meine und meines Herrn Habe, kan ich nicht weiter bringen, nicht meinen Belz würde ich schwäche halber ertragen können, und ahne ihn muss ich erfrühren; diese Gedanken machten mich muthlos und anhäufender Schmerz zehrte an meinem Leib. Nun es muss gevagt werden wen auch mein Leben solte

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Yelin, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 f.: "An das Erschiessen der Tiere dachte auch kein Mensch mehr, sondern man schnitt sich an dem noch lebenden Tier seinen Teil ab, die

Before I came to Borissov, we bivouacked behind a forest around eleven o'clock at night, and it seemed as though the Russians had surrounded us entirely, for the cannonades thundered upon us from all sides, and it was necessary to retreat hurriedly until the enemy gave up from weariness. Everyone among us let loose with slugging, hitting, and chasing, as if we were enemies among ourselves. Every time in bivouac the Germans joined together and made fires in groups I was also included. They were mostly Württemberg sergeants and soldiers who joined with me at the fire; and here each one fried the horse meat which he had cut off laboriously along the way often with scuffling and slugging; for, as soon as a horse plunged and did not get up immediately, men fell upon it in heaps and often cut at it alive from all sides. The meat, unfortunately, was very lean, and only skin with a little red meat could be wrested away. Each of us stuck his piece on a stick or saber, burned off the hair in the fire, and waited until the outside was burned black. Then the piece was bitten off all around and stuck into the fire again. One seldom had time for boiling, and not one among twenty men had a pot.

When the night meal was ended here, we all lay down, and I went to sleep. My horse was tied to my arm as was my custom. In a short time one of my sincere comrades cried, "You, look after your horse so that it won't be stolen." I said, "It's here all right." I was not awakened again the second time. My countrymen cut the strap and sneaked away. Then I woke up to find myself forsaken. "God," I thought, "who is it that can save me? What is to be done? Mine and my master's possessions I cannot bring any farther. I cannot carry even my fur because of my weakness, and I must freeze to death without it." These thoughts made me despondent, and increasing pain consumed my body. Now I had to risk something even if my life should be lost;

mit weitauseinanderstehenden Füßen, oft an allen Seiten blutend — zitternd und betäubt noch stehend zu sehen waren, bis sie endeten und zusammenstürzten." Cf. Castellane, *op. cit.*, I, 195 f.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Yelin, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

enden müssen es ist ohne dies schon halbdahin, dachte ich; nur etwa hundert Schritte lagen die Französische Garte Kirasier, die mir früher meinen Kafe u: Zuckerhut im Bivag gewaltsam genommen haben, ich risgier ein Pferd zu nehmen, — ich schlich¹⁶⁹ dann nahe an die Frond und beobachtete welcher man sich nicht rührte und schlafen köne, schnitt den Riemen ab und kam mit einen ganz grossen Rappen in einer Entfernung an wo alles um mich Lehr war, ich lief eilents mein Gepäk zu holen legte es auf, und zog unverweilt meinen Weg weiter. Freilich dachte ich wen mich nur derjenige Eigenthümer nicht wieder sehen wird, weswegen ih das Pferd nacher wieder vertauschte.

Als ich noch vor Tag die Strasse gedankenvoll dahin ritt hörte ich meinen Herrn den Mayor v: Schamberg wieder, ich rief hin dan wieder mit Namen, worauf er sich wieder herzlich Freute und sagte, nun sind wir doch wieder beysamen und erzählte seine bisherige Rettung, und ich ihm auch diemeinige, besonders freute er sich wegen meiner Besorgniss für seine Gepäke, und wieder Eroberung eines Pferds. Als wir nach Borisov kamen wurde wieder Bivagiert, wir kamen in einen von Bauhölzer bestehenden Hof und machten dort ein Feuer auf, als Herr Mayor etwas warm geworden war so blagten ihn seine Unterthanen¹⁷⁰ sonderbar arg, wes wegen er mich ersuchte in seinem Hemdt gragen die Peiniger zuermorden, ich dats, aber, als ich alles offen hatte schaute ihm das helle Fleisch hervor so die ungestime Thiere angefressen hatten. Mit Grauen musste ich meine Augen abwenden und dem Herrn erwidern, ich sehe nichts dan meine Augen hatten zuviel schmerzen von dem Rauch wodurch ich nichts sehen köne.¹⁷¹ Diese Plaggeister waren jedoch nicht um 1. Tausend weniger bei mir zu fünden, nur konten sie wegen beständiger Unruhe nicht soweit kommen das ich sie mit Fleisch bewirthen musste, übrigens erinnerte ich mich an die bekante Sage "nur bey gesunden Leuthen halten sich Leise auf" und ich rechnete diese Plage, wegen den grössern nicht.

Als ich in dem besagten Hof umherlief, sahe ich gegen 20. Tode Kühe welche von Hunger u: Kälte gestorben sein mussten. Als ich mit dem Sabel davon abhauen wolte waren alle Steinvest

besides, it was already half gone, I thought. Only about a hundred paces away lay the French Cuirassier Guards who earlier had forcibly taken my coffee and sugar loaf while in camp. I will risk taking a horse! I crept near the front, observing which of the men did not move and might be sleeping, cut off a strap, and came away with a very large black horse. I went to a place some distance away where no one was about, then ran hurriedly to get my luggage, laid it on, and went on without delay. Indeed, I thought, if only the owner will not see me! Because of this fear, I later traded off the horse.

Before daylight, as I rode thoughtfully along, I heard my master again, Major von Schaumberg. I called him by name, whereupon he heartily rejoiced and said, "Now we are together again." He told of his preservation until now, and I also told him of mine. He was particularly glad about my care for his luggage and about my reconquest of a horse. After we came to Borissov, we bivouacked again. We came to a lumberyard and built a fire there. When the Major had become somewhat warm, his "subjects" plagued him with unusual wickedness, and for this reason he asked me to kill the tormentors in his shirt collar. I did it; but, when I had his collar open, his raw flesh showed forth where the greedy beasts had gnawed in. I had to turn my eyes away with abhorrence and reassure the master that I saw nothing, telling him that my eyes hurt so much from the smoke that I could not see anything. These pests, however, were no less to be found on me, thousands of them. However, because of my constant restlessness they could not get to the point of forcing me to treat them with flesh. Besides, I remembered the saying, "Lice stay on healthy people only," and I did not count this a plague in view of the greater one.

As I walked about within the court, I saw about twenty dead cows which must have died from hunger and cold. When I

¹⁶⁹ First Walter had written *schlieft* (see notes 11, 33, and 218) and then replaced the obsolete word by *schlich*.

¹⁷⁰ A jocular expression for *Läuse*, "lice." See notes 118, 237, and 253.

¹⁷¹ The excuse of blindness which Walter uses was quite plausible, since many soldiers were suffering terribly from different forms of ophthalmia. Cf. A. Rose, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 f.; Bourgogne, *op. cit.*, p. 194 note; Roos, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

gefrohren, und nur mit grösster mühe hieb ich endlich einen Bauch auf, da ich nichts schneiden noch lossreissen konte als das Gedörm, so nahm ich das Enstel¹⁷² und versah mich mit einem bedeutenten Vorrath davon. Von diesem Enstlich stekte ich jedesmal ein wenig an den Sabel und lies im Feuer heiss werden, so das der grössere Theil davon unverschmolzen blieb, und As eins um das andere mit grosstem Eiffer. Wie ich fruher herte dass das Enstlich essen den Schlaf benimmt, so erfuhr ichs als Wahrheit, ich hatte gegen 14. Tage Enstlich wovon ich jedesmal nur in der Höchsten not gegessen, und sparsam aufgehoben habe, und wahrhaftig es plagte mich der Schlaf nicht mer, konte dan immer die Nächte hindurch beweglich sein, und auf mancherlei Art mich und mein Pferd unterstützen.

Es war nun der 25. Novb: 1812. als wir Borisov erreicht hatten,¹⁷³ es gieng nun der Marsch gegen der Perezina¹⁷⁴ vor wo die unbeschreibliche Graussamkeit aller Plagen auf uns wartteten, unter wegs kam ich zu einen meiner Landsleuthen Namens Brenner welcher unter dem Schwalischer Regiment¹⁷⁵ gestanden hatte, er kam ganz nass und halb erfrohren an mich hin, und wir grüssten uns, Brenner sagte das er heute nach mit seinem Pferd gefangen und ausgeplündert worden seye, er habe jedoch die Flucht wieder ergrifen und seie durch einen Fluss, der nicht gefrohren war gelaufen, nun seye er dem Verfrühren und Hungersterben nahe, dieser Edle gute Soldat begnete mir unweit Smolensk, hatte ein Kleines Leibchen Brod, ungefehr 2 Pf: haltend, fragte mich ob ich ein. Brod wolle, hier habe er noch seinen lezten Vorrath, jedoch weil du garnichts hast so theile ich mit dir, er Stieg ab legte das Brod auf den Boden und haute es mit seinen Sabel inzwey. Guter Lieber Freund erwiderte ich,

¹⁷² There are in Swabian dialect a great many variants for NHG *Unschlitt*, OHG *ingislahti* and *ungislahti* (Kluge-Götze, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 642); but the form most generally used seems to be *eschlich*, according to *Schwäb. Wb.*, VI, part I, 215 f.; for Ellwangen the form *eschilt* is listed there. Cf. *Oberamtsbeschreibung Ellwangen*, p. 187: *enschel* (t).

¹⁷³ The date is correct. Napoleon had arrived there on the same day (Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 312), and so did Yelin (*op. cit.*, p. 26). See also note 159. After a stop at Borissov from 5 to 8 P.M. Napoleon went on to Siaroi Borissov manor, which he reached about 10 P.M., and spent half the night there (Castellane, *op. cit.*, I, 194).

¹⁷⁴ In spelling the name with z Walter probably follows the French military maps.

Englen Morawitz, jedoch mit der Bedingung, daß
Häufel mit der, vorkayden der von auf dem
und fuchte er mit seinem Leben in der
Lieber Genand vor, und die, die er
Lieber mit mir, ich will es mir erlauben
vorkayden der, vorkayden der, vorkayden der
Der Freund von mir Leben fuchte
Morgens, - so fuchte der, die er
sein großer Leben, fuchte er
seinem eigenen Leben, vorkayden der
Fichte, die er, die er, die er
Zustand, da er, die er, die er
fuchte er, die er, die er
ich fuchte. Die er, die er, die er
gut, und, die er, die er, die er

Als er, die er, die er, die er
er, die er, die er, die er
er, die er, die er, die er
er, die er, die er, die er
er, die er, die er, die er
er, die er, die er, die er
er, die er, die er, die er
er, die er, die er, die er

tried to cut something off from them with my saber, they were all frozen as hard as a rock, and only with the greatest effort did I finally rip a belly open. Since I could cut or tear nothing loose but the entrails, I took the tallow and supplied myself with a goodly amount of it. Each time I would stick a little of this tallow on my saber and let it get just hot enough in the fire for the greatest part of it to remain unmelted, and I would eat one piece after another with the greatest eagerness. What I had heard before — namely, that tallow-eating drove sleep away, I now found to be true. For about fourteen days I had tallow, which I always ate only in the greatest emergency and which I thriftily saved; and, truly, sleep did not bother me any more: I could always be active then throughout the night and could forage for myself and my horse in various ways.

It was November 25, 1812, when we reached Borissov. Now the march went toward the Beresina River, where the indescribable horror of all possible plagues awaited us. On the way I met one of my countrymen, by the name of Brenner, who had served with the Light Horse Regiment. He came toward me completely wet and half frozen, and we greeted each other. Brenner said that the night before he and his horse had been caught and plundered but that he had taken to flight again and had come through a river which was not frozen. Now, he said, he was near death from freezing and starvation. This good, noble soldier had run into me not far from Smolensk with a little loaf of bread weighing about two pounds and had asked me whether I wanted a piece of bread, saying that this was his last supply. "However, because you have nothing at all, I will share it with you." He had dismounted, laid the bread on the ground, and cut it in two with his saber. "Dear, good friend," I had replied, "you treat me like a brother. I will not forget as

The initial P is an erroneous attempt on Walter's part to put what he considered the Swabian pronunciation of the name into the supposed High German form ("überhoch-deutsch").

¹⁷⁵ *Schwaliser* is phonetic spelling of *Chevauleger(s)* according to the dialect pronunciation. Cf. E. C. Roedder, *Volkssprache und Wortschatz des badischen Frankenlandes* (New York, 1936), p. 100: *schwolischee*. See also note 23.

du handelst wie ein Bruder mit mir, ich will es mein lebenslang nicht vergessen deine Wohldat, sondern vielmehr dir Fernners wen wirs Leben haben mehrfach vergelten, — er hatte damals ein ruschisches Pferd einen grossen Falchen,¹⁷⁶ stieg auf und jeder musste seiner eigenen Gefahr entgegen arbeiten. Dieses zweite Wiedersehen beide im ellendesten Zustande, da keine Hilfe möglich war, war meinen Herzen eine Qual welche sich unvergesslich in mich einsünkte. Beide wurden wieder voneinander gedruckt, und der Tod erreichte ihn.

Als wür näher gegen der Perezina kamen war ein Orth wo Napolion seine Pakpferte abtakeln lies, und wor er Speisste,¹⁷⁷ er sah seine Arme im ärbärmlichsten zustande um ihn vorbei zihen, was wohl auch sein Herz empfunden hat, ist nicht zu beurtheilen, sein Aeuseres Aber glich einen gleichgiltigen, und unbekümmerten Sine für Gefühl des Ellendes seiner Soldaten, nur Habsucht und Ehrverlust mag in seinen Innern sein Anligen gemacht haben, und obgleich Franzosen und Verbündete mit vielen Schümpfen und Fluchen über seine schuldige Person in seine Ohren schrien, so konte er unberügt solches ertragen.¹⁷⁸ Nachdem seine Gart bereits aufgelösst und er beynahe verlassen war, so samelte er ein freywilliges Chor schon bei *Dambrova* welches unter vielen Versprechungen sich einreithen und den Namen Heilige Schar (Schwadron)¹⁷⁹ erhielt — diese bestand jedoch in kurzer Zeit, nur noch dem Namenach dan der Feund verjagte auch diese zu nichts.

In dieser Gegend erreichten wir Abseits ein noch halb abgebrandes Dorf in welchen ein Keller im Edelhof war und wir suchten nach Kartoffeln & wo ich auch die breite Stafel hinunter druckte, ungeachtet der Keller schon halb von Menschen gefüllt war,¹⁸⁰ als ich am Ende der Staffel unten war so gieng das Geschrey an unter den Füßen, alles trunkte herein und keiner konte hinaus, hier wurden die Menschen Verdritten und Erstükt die

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Schwäb. Wb., II, 918: "Pferd von gelber Haarfarbe."

¹⁷⁷ I cannot identify this place.

¹⁷⁸ Regarding the feelings of the retreating troops toward Napoleon, cf. Bourgoigne, *op. cit.*, p. 150, but also pp. 190 and 202; and Caulaincourt, *op. cit.*, II, 172, 189.

¹⁷⁹ According to Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 312, this had been done near Bobr: "A Bobr,

long as I live this good deed of yours but will rather repay you many times if we live!" He had then a Russian horse, a huge dun, mounted it, and each of us had to work his way through, facing his own dangers. This second meeting, with both of us in the most miserable condition because no aid was available, caused a pang in my heart which sank in me unforgettably. Both of us were again separated, and death overtook him.

When we came nearer the Beresina River, there was a place where Napoleon ordered his pack horses to be unharnessed and where he ate. He watched his army pass by in the most wretched condition. What he may have felt in his heart is impossible to surmise. His outward appearance seemed indifferent and unconcerned over the wretchedness of his soldiers; only ambition and lost honor may have made themselves felt in his heart; and, although the French and Allies shouted into his ears many oaths and curses about his own guilty person, he was still able to listen to them unmoved. After his Guard had already disbanded and he was almost abandoned, he collected a voluntary corps at Dubrovna which was enrolled with many promises and received the name of "Holy Squadron." After a short time, however, this existed in name only, for the enemy reduced even them to nothing.

In this region we came to a half-burnt village away from the road, in which a cellar was found under a mansion. We sought for potatoes, and I also pressed down the broad stairway, although the cellar was already half filled with people. When I was at the bottom of the steps, the screaming began under my feet. Everyone crowded in, and none could get out. Here people

où il ordonne la formation de 4 compagnies de gardes d'honneur composées de tous les officiers montés: c'est l'escadron sacré." That is why Walter writes *Schwadron* in parentheses. Only one company, however, could be brought together. Cf. Yelin, *op. cit.*, p. 33: "Die sog. Heilige Schwadron, die sich in Orscha meistens aus Offizieren um den Kaiser gebildet hatte, war aufgelöst und zerstreut, überhaupt war Feigheit an die Stelle der Tapferkeit getreten." Cf. also P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, p. 57. Bourgogne, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 190, 214: "The Doomed Squadron" (formed during November 22-25).

¹⁸⁰ Probably the village of Nemoniza (Niemanicza). There Roos (*op. cit.*, p. 201), and Lossberg (*op. cit.*, p. 124) spent the night of November 25/26. According to R. T. Wilson, *French Invasion*, p. 324, "Ney was between Lochnitza and Nemonitza" that night. Cf. also Caulaincourt, *op. cit.*, II, 173 f. and 179.

wo sich nach etwass bücken wolten, wurden von den stehenden Uebergewichtet¹⁸¹ und es musste auf sie gedretten werden, ungeachtet dem Todengeschrey und entsezlichen Winzeln nahm der Druk von ausen zu, die Arme todschwache Menschen so fallen mussten blieben Tod unter den Füßen ihrer eigenen Leuthen, als ich dieses Mördergeschrey bedenkte vergieng mir das weiter eintringen in den Keller, und ich tachte mit kalter Angst wie komst wieder hinaus! ich hielt mich daher imer vest an der Wand so das solche mir Schuz gewehrte, rikte mich kräftig nach und nach eine Staffel höher auf, was das Aufdretten der andern auf meinen langen Pelz doch beynahe unmöglich machte, hinauszukommen. In dem Dorf Sinbin wo Napolion speisste,¹⁸² war ein Hauss abgebrant unter welchen ein niederer mit Riphölzer überlegtes Kellerloch war, und von ausern einen kleinen einen Kleinen Eingang hatte, in diesem wurden abermal Kartoffeln u: dergleichen gesucht, zumal stürzte das Gebälk ein und die inen waren und nicht ganz verbrent oder erstükt waren, sprangen mit Verbrenten Kleitern umher schrien jamerten und erfrohren in gresslichen Schmerzen.

Als ich hier dem Ort etwas weiter kam hatte ein Man einen Sak roher Kleien, wo bereits nicht ein Staub von Mehl darunter war; diesen bittete ich unaufhörlich mir nur einwenigen solche Gleien gegen Bezahlung zu geben, und drückte ihm einen Silberrubel in die Hand ein, und so gab er mir noch ganz ungerne einige Hände voll in mein Tüchlein worzu ich herzlich froh meinen Weg weiter machte, als ich und mein Herr nacher der Perezina an eine Anhöhe kamen wurde gelagert, und ich erhielt durch zuthun des Holzes theil an einem Feuer, ich nahm sogleich schnee unter meine Gleien balte es zusammen faustgross welches der spröthe halber wieder zu 3. 4. Theilchen im Feuer zerfiel, lies es von ausen glühend brennen um nur von innen etwas

¹⁸¹ Uebergewichten is a dialect expression, used here in a transitive sense. Cf. Schwäb. Wb., VI, part I, 28.

¹⁸² Sembin (Zembin), NW. of Borissov. Cf. Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 313: "Il passe par Sembin où il est à 10 h. et où il déjeune." November 29, 1812. — Although Sembin lies west of the Beresina River, Walter mentions it here in connection with the

were trampled to death and suffocated; those who wanted to stoop down for something were bowled over by those standing and had to be stepped upon. In spite of the murderous shrieking and frightful groaning, the pressure from outside increased; the poor, deathly weak men who fell had to lie there until dead under the feet of their own comrades. When I reflected on the murderous shrieking, I gave up pushing into the cellar, and I thought in cold fear: how will I get out again? I pressed flat against the wall so that it afforded me shelter and pushed myself vigorously little by little up the steps; this was almost impossible with others treading on my long coat. In the village of Sembin, where Napoleon ate, there was a burned house, under which was a low, timber-covered cellar with a small entrance from the outside. Here again, as potatoes and the like were being hunted for, suddenly the beams fell in and those who were inside and were not entirely burned up or suffocated were jumping about with burned clothes, screaming, whimpering, and freezing to death in terrible pain.

When I had gone somewhat farther from that place, I met a man who had a sack of raw bran in which there was hardly a dust of flour. I begged him ceaselessly to sell me a little of the bran, pressing a silver ruble into his hand; so he put a few handfuls in my little cloth, although very unwillingly, whereupon I happily continued on my journey. When I and my master came closer to the Beresina, we camped on a near-by hill, and by contributing wood I obtained a place at a fire. I immediately mixed some snow with my bran; balled it together into a lump about the size of my fist, which because of its brittleness fell into three or four pieces again in the fire; and allowed it to heat red on the

soldiers looking for potatoes in cellars. Cf. Castellane, *op. cit.*, I, 197 (entry for November 29): "L'Empereur part à sept heures à Zembin, petite ville polonaise, où nous déjeunons. (3 lieus) . . . Nous quittons Zembin à midi; à cinq heures, nous étions à Kamen. (4 lieus; en tout 7 lieus dans la journée) . . . Nous y trouvons des pommes de terre, c'est un événement." What impressed Bourgogne about "Ziemben" was Napoleon as he gazed at the Borissov road expecting Russian pursuit. Cf. Bourgogne, *op. cit.*, p. 207. Cf. also Steinmüller's *Tagebuch*, p. 41: "Am 29. November kamen wir nur bis Zembin."

brodähnliches zu erhalten, und mit grösstem Abeditt verzehrten ich u: mein Herr alles.

Nach einer Zeit von 2 bis abends 4. Uhr rikten die Russen immer näher von allen Seiten und das Morden u: Martern schien alles zu vernichten, es wurde zwar von unserer Armee eine Anhöhe benützt von welcher aus unser noch vorhandens Geschütz auf den Feund aufgestellt und so viel wie möglich auf den ge- feuert wurde, aber wohin dachte man eine Rettung, gefangen, umgebracht, und in das Wasser gesprengt, dachte man muss heute alles werden, alles sahe seine lezte Zeit voraugen, und alles war dieser Erwartung. Als jedoch dieser Berg von der Französi- schen Artöllerie behauptet blieb, so konte der Tod nur durch Kannonen u: Haubizen-Kugeln einen Theil hinweg raffen, nicht nur kein Spital war für die Verwundete, sondern unter Durst, Kälte, Hunger und Verzweiflung, Klagen und Fluchen wurde ihnen der lezte Ademzug ausgepresst, auch unsere Kranken so auf Wägen bis hierher geschlept wurden und bereits in lauther Ofziers bestanden, blieben sich selbst überlassen, und nur Tod- bleiche Gesichter und erstarrte Hände Krünten sich nach uns.¹⁸³

Als die Kanonat etwass nachgelassen hatte machten ich und mein Herr sich auf und ritten dem Wasser abwärts ungefehr $\frac{1}{2}$. Stunde wo noch ein Dorf mit mehrem unabgebranten Häussem war, Hier war auch der Generalstab von Würtenberg.¹⁸⁴ in diesen Schlupfwinkeln suchte ich Nachts zu Essen worzu ich gefundene Wachskerzen anzündete, und fandte dan etwas Kraut (Kapusk)¹⁸⁵ welches aber grün mogig¹⁸⁶ und wüst aussah, ich stellte es zum Feuer und kochte ungefehr eine halbe Stunde daran; einsmals

¹⁸³ Walter's account of his Beresina experience is a puzzle, partly because of his failure to date each day's events. An effort to untangle the story leads to these conclusions. The dates November 26-28 are obviously correct. On Thursday (November 26) the dis- organized mass was held around Borissov. The camp fire on a hill near the river may have been near Staroi Borissov manor or as far west as Novoi Stakov on the lower road to Studianka, where he was by Friday night and until the night of Saturday, November 28. There is no evidence that Walter heard or saw anything of the building of the bridge during November 25-26, or that he witnessed the crossings of the troops and artillery (Ney's active force) in the afternoon and the night of November 26 and early November 27. Yet he was at the bridges late on Friday afternoon when Wittgenstein's Russians arrived from Kostritza at Staroi Borissov a dozen miles back, so that Walter missed any encounter with Russians on that day. By all accounts it was not until No- vember 28, 10 A.M., when Wittgenstein attacked Victor at Vesselovo, two or three miles

outside in order to obtain something like bread from the inside; and I and my master ate it all with the heartiest appetite.

After a time, from about two till four o'clock in the afternoon, the Russians pressed nearer and nearer from every side, and the murdering and torturing seemed about to annihilate everyone. Although our army used a hill, on which what was left of our artillery was placed, and fired at the enemy as much as possible, the question was: what chance was there of rescue? That day we expected that everyone must be captured, killed, or thrown into the water. Everyone thought that his last hour had come, and everyone was expecting it; but, since the ridge was held by the French artillery, only cannon and howitzer balls could snatch away a part of the men. There was no hospital for the wounded; they died also of hunger, thirst, cold, and despair, uttering complaints and curses with their last breath. Also our sick, who had been conveyed to this point in wagons and consisted almost entirely of officers, were left to themselves; and only deathly white faces and stiffened hands stretched toward us.

When the cannonade had abated somewhat, I and my master set out and rode down the stream for about half an hour to where there was a village with several unburned houses. Here was also the general staff of Württemberg. In the hiding places here, I sought for something to eat at night; with this purpose I lighted candles that I had found; and I did find some cabbage ("Kapusk") which looked green, spotted, and like rubbish. I placed it over a fire and cooked it for about half an hour. All at once cannon balls crashed into the village, and with a wild

further west, that the troops at the Studianka bridges were annoyed, just as Walter relates. Cf. *Bourgogne*, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-205; *Coignet*, *op. cit.*, pp. 234 f.; *Castellane*, *op. cit.*, I, 194-197; *Caulaincourt*, *op. cit.*, II, 175-185; *Fain*, *MSS. 1812*, II, 301 ff.; *Ségur*, *op. cit.*, II, 214-236; *E. Labaume*, *Circumstantial Narrative of the Campaign in Russia*, tr. from the French (Hartford, 1817), pp. 302-310; *Lossberg*, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-144; *Roos*, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-211; *Holzhausen*, *op. cit.*, part II, pp. 86-117; *L.V.L. Rochechouart* (with *Wittgenstein*), *Memoirs*, tr. by F. Jackson (London, 1920), pp. 155-158; *Pfister*, *Rheinbund*, I, 152-155; *R. T. Wilson*, *French Invasion*, pp. 319-326; *H. B. George*, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-368.

¹⁸⁴ The Württemberg staff had been at Studianka grange, leaving it about 2 A.M. on November 27 to cross to Brillovo. Cf. *Roos*, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

¹⁸⁵ See notes 71 and 187 on different spellings of the Russian word.

¹⁸⁶ *Mogig* means "spotted" in Swabian dialect. The cabbage had begun to rot. *Wüst* meaning "ugly" is used very frequently in Swabian dialect.

Krachte es mit Kanonnenkugeln auf das Dorf, und mit lermenden Hurrageschrey sprangte sich der Feund herein. Mit aller Geschwindickheit glückte es uns nicht gefangen zu werden, da wir aufsizten und Ritten was möglich war, meinen Dopf mit Kraut konte ich doch nicht zuriklassen, sondern hielt ihn fest auf dem Pferd im Arm, und die sorge für mein halbgekochtes Essen nicht zu verlihren machte mir die verbeißflügende Kugeln ganz vergessen. Als wir etwas von Ort intfernt waren, so langten ich und mein Herr mit Händen in den Dopf und verzehrten unser Kapuska¹⁸⁷ in Geschwindigkeit mit den Füngern, keiner konte vor Kälte die Hände bloslassen, u: jeder eiferte auf den andern wegen Hunger und Kälte geschwind mit der Hand in den warmen Dopf zu greifen, und in Kürze hatte die Mahlzeit für den ganzen Tag wieder ein Ende.

Als es Tag war standen wir wieder an dem Wasser etwa 1000 Schritt von den zwey Briken welche nebeneinander von Holz erbaut waren, diese Briken hatten die Bauart von Schregen, Bokgestell, und unveste Tragstozen, auf diesen lagen Langhölzer und über Quer nur Ripp oder Brukhölzer welche nicht bevestigt waren,¹⁸⁸ keine Brücke wurde aber nicht gesehen vor der Menge Menschen, Pferde und Wägen, alles drenkte sich in Massen zusammen, und nirgends sahe man einen Ausweg oder Rettung. von morgens bis wieder in die Nacht standen wir unter den Kannonnen Kugeln u: Krannaden welche die Russen von 2. Seiten auf uns warfen, ein jeder Schlag strekte 3. bis 5. Man zu boden und keiner konte um keinen Schritt der Kanonnenrichtung ausweichen,¹⁸⁹ sondern nur da wo eine Kugel Plaz machte kam durch Wiederauffüllung dieses Raums ein wenig Bewegung hervor. Es Standen auch alle Pulferwägen in dem Getrüngt wovon viele von den Kranaten angezündet und dem Hundert

¹⁸⁷ See notes 71 and 185.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Steinmüllers *Tagebuch*, p. 32: "Hier liess Napoleon in seiner Gegenwart trotz des Widerstandes der Russen zwei Bockbrücken schlagen." And the footnote there (*ibid.*, p. 85): "Die Beresina war an der Uebergangsstelle, ohne das angrenzende sumpfige Gelände zu rechnen, ungefähr 100 m. breit. Die zwei Brücken waren 200 m. voneinander entfernt, jede hatte 23 Böcke. Die obere war für die Infanterie, die untere für die Artillerie und die Fuhrwerke bestimmt." See notes 154, 183, 191. Cf. also Bourgoingne, *op. cit.*, p. 195, and Castellane, *op. cit.*, I, 194 f.

cheer the enemy sprang upon us. With all speed we succeeded in escaping, since we mounted and rode away as fast as possible. I couldn't leave my pot of cabbage behind, to be sure, but held it firmly in my arms on the horse, and the fear that I might lose my half-cooked meal made me forget entirely the bullets which were flying by. When we were a little distance from the place, my master and I reached our hands into the pot and ate our "Kapuska" in haste with our fingers. Neither could leave his hands bare because of the cold, and because of our hunger and the cold we vied with each other in grabbing swiftly into the warm pot, and the only meal for the entire day was at an end again in short time.

When it became day again, we stood near the stream approximately a thousand paces from the two bridges, which were built of wood near each other. These bridges had the structure of sloping saw-horses suspended like trestles on shallow-sunk piles; on these lay long stringers and across them only bridge ties, which were not fastened down. However, one could not see the bridges because of the crowd of people, horses, and wagons. Everyone crowded together into a solid mass, and nowhere could one see a way out or a means of rescue. From morning till night we stood unprotected from cannonballs and grenades which the Russians hurled at us from two sides. At each blow from three to five men were struck to the ground, and yet no one was able to move a step to get out of the path of the cannonballs. Only by the filling up of the space where a cannonball made room could one make a little progress forward. All the powder wagons also stood in the crowd; many of these were ignited by the grenades, killing hundreds of people and horses standing about them.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Yelin, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 f.: "Auch ich war einer von denen, die in sorgloser Ruhe wie viele andere auf dem linken Ufer der Beresina zu lange verweilten, wo mir gleiches Schicksal hätte werden können, wenn nicht . . . eine von dem Feind vor die Brücke geworfene Granate mir das Leben gerettet hätte; diese Granate machte mir durch die Menschenmenge Platz, und zwar weil sich alles um sie her niederwarf, ich über sie wegschreiten, auf die Brücke gelangen und so mich retten konnte." And Steinmüllers *Tagebuch*, p. 33: "Wenn man an die Beresina kam, so konnte man sich in der Masse von Menschen nicht mehr bewegen." Cf. P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, p. 110.

nach die ringsum stehende Menschen und Pferde erschlugen.¹⁹⁰

Ich hatte ein Pferd zu reiten u: eins an der Hand, das handpferd musste ich in Bälde fahren lassen, und auf dem ich sass musste ich Knieen um meine Füße nicht abtrüben zu lassen, dan alles war so gepresst das nur alle viertelstund um 4. bis 5. Schritt vorwärts gieng, zu Fuss war an keine Rettung mehr zu denken, ja wer kein gutes Pferd hatte musste Stürzen auf den in Massen liegenden Pferden u: Menschen, alles Schrie unter den Füßen der Pferde und rings um war das Geschrey Schüss oder stecht mich vollens Tod. Die gestürzte Pferde schlugen den noch stehenden vielfältig die Füße ab und nur ein Wunder wars für jeden der gerettet wurde.

In dem wehrenden Getrüng hielten Mayor u: ich uns vest aneinander, und wo es möglich war trükte ich mein Pferd öfters vorn in die Höhe wodurch er um einen Schritt wieder vorwärts einfiel was mich wunderte mit welchen verstand dieses Thier uns suchte zu Retten. Es kam nun der Abend herbei und Verzweiflung nahm immer zu, tausende schwamen mit Pferde in den Fluss aber keiner kam mehr hinaus, wieder tausende welche nahe am Wasser waren wurden hineingeschoben und das Wasser war wie in einer Schaafwasch wo alles mit Menschen u: Pferdeköpfen umhertauchte und so verschwanden.

Endlich gegen 4. Uhr Abends kam ich an die Brike, als bey-nahe Nacht war. Hier sahe ich nur mehr eine Brike u: die 2te Brike wahr abgeschossen,¹⁹¹ Jetzt mit Schauer, aber damals mit

¹⁹⁰ According to Captain Coignet (*op. cit.*, p. 234) Marshal Davout and he were ordered to guard the bridge-head allowing only artillery and ammunitions to cross first. Cf. also Caulaincourt, *op. cit.*, II, 181, as to the crossing on November 27: "Pour ne pas interrompre le passage des troupes et de l'artillerie, on arrêtait les isolés et les vivandiers qui se seraient écoulés dans les intervalles. Ils encombrèrent Wesselowo."

¹⁹¹ This account needs to be checked by a summary of the essential facts concerning the Beresina bridges. Immediately after the loss of the vital Borissov bridge General Corbineau arrived from Polotsk, after crossing the Beresina easily on November 21-22 by the same ford at Studianka which had been used by Charles XII of Sweden on his fateful invasion of the Ukraine in 1709. It seemed a way of escape to Napoleon, too. Because of the burning of the pontoons at Orscha makeshift bridges were needed. Napoleon therefore sent Corbineau and Oudinot ahead to prepare these bridges out of timbers taken from the huts of Vesselowo. Their work of the morning of November 25 had to be redone, however, by the pioneers of Generals Eblé and Chasseloup, who worked all night and most of November 26. Theirs was a most heroic task, deadly for most of them. It meant working shoulder-deep in freezing water; for a thaw had swelled the

I had a horse to ride and one to lead. The horse I led I was soon forced to let go, and I had to kneel on the one which I rode in order not to have my feet crushed off, for everything was so closely packed that in a quarter of an hour one could move only four or five steps forward. To be on foot was to lose all hope of rescue. Indeed, whoever did not have a good horse could not help falling over the horses and people lying about in masses. Everyone was screaming under the feet of the horses, and everywhere was the cry, "Shoot me or stab me to death!" The fallen horses struck off their feet many of those still standing. It was only by a miracle that anyone was saved.

In the crowd the Major and I held fast to one another; and, as far as it was possible, I frequently caused my horse to rear up, whereby he came down again about one step further forward. I marveled at the intelligence with which this animal sought to save us. Then evening came, and despair steadily increased. Thousands swam into the river with horses, but no one ever came out again; thousands of others who were near the water were pushed in, and the stream was like a sheep dip where the heads of men and horses bobbed up and down and disappeared.

Finally, toward four o'clock in the evening, when it was almost dark, I came to the bridge. Here I saw only one bridge, the second having been shot away. Now it is with horror, but at that time it was with a dull, indifferent feeling, that I looked

river and now (November 25-26) hard cold returned. Moreover old timbers, bad footings, and hard wear made constant repairing necessary. But it may be noted that they did have tools, spikes, etc., as needed. They built two bridges, 2,000 yards from each other. The bridge to the right (north) was ready for foot and horse about 11-12 P.M. on November 26, but the wider bridge to the south, for which a former bridge on the site was used, was not ready until dusk (4-5 P.M.). However, by fording, by rafts, or by way of the north bridge most of the fighting troops had crossed by noon of November 27, and the artillery, munitions, and supply wagons by night, all this in spite of several breaks, which often required partial closures for repairs. Three times at least for several hours at a stretch (November 26, 8-11 P.M., November 27, after midnight, and November 28, afternoon) the bridge for the artillery was out of use. But both bridges were never closed at the same time, nor was either bridge destroyed until they were burned by imperial orders on Sunday morning. It may be noted here also that there is no confirmation for the story of powder wagons exploded by enemy shells. However, Walter's details concerning loose planks and the mountain of dead cumbering the bridge are confirmed. See citations in note 183, and cf. especially P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, p. 194; R. T. Wilson, *French Invasion*, p. 328; Lossberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 132.

Stumpfen Gefühl blikte ich den Pferdte und Menschenhaufen an, welcher hoh auf der Brike hinüber Tod lag, nur vest forwerths und in die Mitte musste der Entschluss sein, hier in dem Wasser ist jezt dein Grab, über der Brike die Fortsezung von Marterleben, und auf der Brike die Entscheidung. Nun hielt ich mich vest auf die Mitte, Mayor u: ich konten einander Unterstüzen, und so kamen wür unter hunder Klingenhiebe auf die Brike wo nicht ein Holz vor Pferdte u: Toden Menschen mehr sichtbar war, und wehrend am Einlauf auf die Brike 30. Schritt rechts und links in Masse die Menschen einstürzten kamen wir auf die veste Landseite.¹⁹²

Warum aber die Brike mit Pferde und Menschen bedekt war, war nicht allein das Verschüssen und ungefehre Stürzen die Schuld, sondern die Riphölzer welche auf diesem Bau nicht bevestigt waren, in welchen die Pferdte mit den Füßen durchdretteten und solange Stürzen mussten, bis kein Holz von der Schwere der Körper unbeweglich geworten ist, dan wo ein solches Holz noch Luft hatte, wurde es von den Neben Hinabfallenden Pferden aus der Lage gerissen und eine Art Falle für das Eintretente bereitet, ja man muss Sagen, die Schwere der toden Körper war das Glük der hinüber reitenden, ohne welche Last die Kanonat der Sturz der Brike zu früh erfolgt were.

Als ich nun sicher war, ist es nacht gewesen, und ich wusste nicht wohin die Heresstrasse war, ich legte mich etwass links der Strasse in ein kleines Staudengestreich, und Band die Pferde am meinen Fuss, der Mayor schikte einen Polaken mit einen den Tag zuvor gekauften Kessel, nach einem Wasser fort, gab ihm noch ein Stük Geld, aber der Man und der Kessel wurden nicht mehr sichtbar, und wir beide mussten den Schnee für den Durst Essen. Es waren auch so wenig Menschen vorhanden dass in unserer Stillen Lage alles Tod hingestreckt schien,¹⁹³ das Kannonfeuer hehrte auch auf und würllich war auch die Brüke ge-

¹⁹² Probably in the evening of November 27. According to Moritz von Miller, 57 Württemberg infantrymen under Colonel von Koseritz crossed the Beresina. Cf. P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, p. 94.

¹⁹³ Note the statement by Coignet, *op. cit.*, p. 235: "But behind us a frightful scene was being enacted. After we had left the bridge the Russians directed the fire of their

at the masses of horses and people which lay dead, piled high upon the bridge. Only "Straight ahead and in the middle!" must be the resolution. "Here in the water is your grave; beyond the bridge is the continuation of a wretched life. The decision will be made on the bridge!" Now I kept myself constantly in the middle. The Major and I could aid one another; and so amid a hundred blows of sabers we came to the bridge, where not a plank was visible because of the dead men and horses; and, although on reaching the bridge the people fell in masses thirty paces to the right and to the left, we came through to the firm land.

The fact that the bridge was covered with horses and men was not due to shooting and falling alone but also to the bridge ties, which were not fastened on this structure. The horses stepped through between them with their feet and so could not help falling, until no plank was left movable on account of the weight of the bodies. For where such a timber still could move, it was torn out of place by the falling horses, and a sort of trap was prepared for the following horse. Indeed, one must say that the weight of the dead bodies was the salvation of those riding across; for, without their load, the cannon would have caused the destruction of the bridge too soon.

By the time I was in safety, it had grown dark, and I did not know where the highway was. I lay down somewhat to the left of the road in a little clump of bushes and tied the horses to my foot. The Major sent a Pole after water with a kettle bought the day before and also gave him a piece of money, but the man and the kettle were never seen again, and we both had to eat the snow for our thirst. There were now so few people around that in our quiet place it seemed as though everyone had been struck dead. The cannon fire also ceased, and the bridge had really

batteries upon the crowd which surrounded the bridges. From our position we could see these unfortunate creatures rush for the bridges; then the wagons overturned, and all were swallowed up under the ice. No one could give any idea of this sight. The bridges were burned the next day at half-past eight o'clock." Cf. Steinmüllers *Tagebuch*, p. 39: "Die Russen bemächtigten sich bald des Schlachtfeldes, die Passage hörte auf, und eine dumpfe Stille folgte auf das fürchterlichste Getöse." Cf. also P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, p. 114.

sunken. Schrecklich war das Loss für die Menschen die noch zurik standen, ihr Tod war Hunger, Kälte u: Wasser.¹⁹⁴

Als es in der Nacht wieder etwass Mundhell¹⁹⁵ wurde setzte ich den Marsch weiter an, vor Grampf in den Füßen konte ich keine verrtelstunde ligen,¹⁹⁶ ein über das andere mal legte ich mich auf eine andere Seithe, und am Ende gefrohr ich an meinen Kleitern ganz steif, nur durch das Marschiren entkam ich dem Erfrühren. 26. 27. 28. Nov.¹⁹⁷

Wir beide eilten nun der Strasse weiters, und täglich ohne Brod und Obdach, dachte ich an meine Freunde zu Hausse, und Vergleich mein Elend und nahes Ende mit dem frühern Genuss, ich erinnerte mich an die so gewöhnliche Sage zu Haus "Es wird jedesmal der Feldzug Aerger gemacht als er ist." In diese gewöhnliche Meinung hate mich getröstet, da ich dachte, gut ists das ihr Liebe Geschwistert und Freunde, nicht meine Lage wisst, für Euch were es Kummer und Schmerzen, und mich würde es nichts nützen. Ja ich dankte dem Schöpfer dass nur ich, und nicht auch mein Bruder, hier ist. Gewiss hätte ich meinen Bruder verlohren oder ohne Hülffleistung Sterben sehen, wass auch mich hätte in Tod gebracht.¹⁹⁸

Gleichgiltig und Kalt konte ich die im Hundert nach gestürzte Menschen Ansehen, obgleich dass Hinschmettern auf das Eis ihre Köpfe erschmetterte, ihr aufturneln und Widerstürzen, ihr dumpfes Sumsen und Wünsseln, ihr Hände Rängen und Krümen, das Eis und den Schnee in ihrem Mund steken fürchterlich war, so hatte ich denoch kein Gefühl zum Mitleid, nur

¹⁹⁴ The panic among the crowd at the bridge and the dread experiences of those left to their fate at Studianka have been stressed by most accounts. It has been commonly agreed that the victims were themselves primarily responsible. Indeed, Napoleon has even been criticized for abandoning them so late, as he thus jeopardized the salvation of the more effective remnants of his troops. These laggards could all have crossed when the bridges were little used, as during the nights of November 27 and 28. See note 189. Cf. *Bourgogne*, op. cit., p. 199, *Lossberg*, op. cit., pp. 138 ff. They were repeatedly urged and warned, debris was burned to scare them into action, the dismantling and burning of the bridges under their eyes was protracted from 7 to 9 A.M. on November 29, but they seemed paralyzed, misled by false hope, unable to break out of the jam formed in the meadow before the bridges, while the fighting units and munitions were given precedence. See the authors quoted in note 183, such as Caulaincourt, Fain, Ségur, and especially *Lossberg*; cf. also P. *Holzhausen*, op. cit., part II, pp. 108-116, R. T. *Wilson*, *French Invasion*, 234 ff., and *Roos*, op. cit., pp. 207 ff.

¹⁹⁵ Walter realizes that his dialect often has o (and e) before nasal consonants where

sunk, too. Horrible was the lot of the people who still were on the other side: hunger, cold, and water brought them to their death.

When in the night a little moonlight appeared, I set out upon the march again, for, on account of the cramps in my feet, I could not lie still for a quarter of an hour. Again and again I turned from one side to the other, and in the end I was frozen stiff with my clothing. Only by marching did I overcome freezing. November 26, 27, and 28.

We both hurried farther along the highway; and, being daily without bread and shelter, I thought of my friends at home and compared my misery and approaching end with my former life of plenty. I remembered a common saying at home, "A campaign is always made out to be worse than it was." With this common notion I consoled myself, thinking: "It's well that you, my beloved kindred and friends, know nothing of my condition, for it would only cause you pain, and it would be of no use to me." Yes, I thanked the Creator that only I and not my brother, too, was here. Certainly I would have lost my brother or seen him die without aid, which would have killed me as well.

I could look with indifference at the people falling by the hundreds, although the impact upon the ice bashed their heads. I could look at their rising and falling again, their dull moaning and whining, and the wringing and clenching of their hands. The ice and snow sticking in their mouths was frightful. Nevertheless, I had no feeling of pity. Only my friends were in my thoughts.

standard High German has *u* (and *i*). He therefore replaces *o* and *e* in such positions by *u* and *i*, at times wrongly as here: *mundhell* instead of *mondhell* ("überhochdeutsch").

¹⁹⁶ *Vertel* renders the pronunciation of *viertel* characteristic of East Franconian dialect spoken north of Ellwangen. While the Swabian speech of Ellwangen in general shows hardly any admixture of the Franconian dialect north of it, the lowering of *i* (*ie*) and *u* to *e* and *o* before *r* has been noted repeatedly. Cf. *Oberamtsbeschreibung Ellwangen*, pp. 186 f., and K. Bohnenberger in *Württ. Jahrbücher für Statistik und Landeskunde*, 1932-1933, p. 24. See also notes 267 and 318.

¹⁹⁷ November 26-28 is the correct date for the crossing of the Beresina. See notes 183, 191, 192, 194.

¹⁹⁸ This refers to a brother who also had served in the army of the Confederation of the Rhine. Walter speaks of meeting him in the campaigns of 1806-1807 and 1809.

meine Freunde waren in meinen Gedanken.¹⁹⁹

Während dieser Monatszeit stieg die Kälte täglich Höher ich hatte immer mehr Bedachtsamkeit nöthig for dem Erfrühren zu Schützen.²⁰⁰ Auch mein und des Mayors Pferd nicht erhungern zulassen, machte mich Tag u: Nacht geschäftig, ich reittete bald links bald rechts um ein Dorf zu fünden und Stroh oder ungetroschene Garben aufzubünden und mich oben darüber zu sezen, das Sizen auf dem Stroh musste unumgänglich sein, da andere es eim Raubten, ader von den andern Pferden herabgerissen wurde.

So kam ich nach Smoragoni,²⁰¹ immer bereits mitten in der Armee, welche jedoch ehnter²⁰² einen Haufen Betteljuden gleichte, als einem Millitar. Hir traf ich zu meinem Erstaunen wieder gut orgarnisirte Regimenter an welche zur Unterstützung aus Danzig uns entgegen kamen,²⁰³ es waren zwey Regimenter Polen welche gerade aus Spanien zurikkamen und theilten ihr Loos mit uns, auch von Würtemberg dem Regiment No. 7. welche zuvor schon zersprengt worden sind kamen einige Haufen, desgleichen auch von Depo,²⁰⁴ keinen bekanten aber erfragte ich nicht, Hier in dieser Gegend hatte uns auch Napolion verlassen welcher sich mit den neuen Unterstützungstrupen rettete und eilte von der Arme voraus,²⁰⁵ das allgemeine Geschrey war, Rette sich wer sich Retten kan,²⁰⁶ jedoch hatte Mürat das Ko-

¹⁹⁹ How similar is this to Captain Coignet's lament, *op. cit.*, p. 238: "Every sentiment of humanity was extinguished!"

²⁰⁰ Apparently the severest cold of the campaign — worse than during the two or three rigorous spells in November when it fell to -13° and more Fahrenheit — was that which set in the night of December 2/3. Two brief moderating spells from November 24 to 26 and November 30 to December 2 had preceded. Now from 14° Fahrenheit the temperature dropped to -4 on December 3 and continued falling until it reached -35° (or -40°) by December 7-10, fluctuating between -13° and -40° for weeks. The inferno of the route to Vilna was more than equalled by the terrible conditions there, as at St. Basil Convent hospital. Men and officers, friend and foe, and also animals differed in their sufferings according to their capabilities of endurance or protection. The Russian losses were fully proportionate to those of the Allies, and were of fresher material. Cf. especially Bourgoigne, Lossberg, Yelin, Caulaincourt, Castellane, Fezensac, Rochechouart; cf. also Wilson, *French Invasion*, pp. 342-344 and 352-355, and P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, pp. 124 ff.

²⁰¹ Napoleon arrived at Smoragoni on December 5, at 2 P.M. (Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 314), and so did Yelin (*op. cit.*, p. 31). Steinmüller reached this town on December 6 (*Tagebuch*, p. 45).

²⁰² Ehnter, rather, instead of eher, is a form characteristic of the Swabian dialect. Schwäb. Wb., II, 526, lists *cander* for the region about Ellwangen. Cf. E. C. Roedder,

During this month the cold became worse daily. I had to be more and more careful of myself in order to keep from freezing; also keeping my horse and the Major's from starving kept me busy day and night. I rode sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left in order to find a village, and load some straw or unthreshed sheaves on my horse and sit on top of them. Sitting on the straw was absolutely necessary, for otherwise it would have been stolen or torn away by the other horses.

Thus I came to Smorgoni, always keeping nearly in the middle of the army, which, however, more nearly resembled a troop of begging Jews than one of soldiers. Here I met again, to my astonishment, well-organized regiments which came from Danzig to our support. There were two regiments of Poles who had just come back from Spain; they threw in their lot with us. A few troops came also from Württemberg, to join the Seventh Regiment, which had already been routed, likewise troops from the depot; but I did not hear of an acquaintance. Moreover, here in this region Napoleon had left us and fled with the fresh reserve troops, hurrying home ahead of the army. The general cry was, "Save himself who can." However, Murat had taken over the command of the army and remained with us. On the

op. cit., p. 57.

²⁰³ Cf. Yelin, *op. cit.*, p. 33: "In Smorghoni trafen wir einen Teil der Loisonschen Division aus Danzig und mehrere Ergänzungsgruppen aus dem Vaterlande an, die uns von Willna aus entgegengeschickt wurden; sie waren noch gut im Stande, und es war uns von Rauch und Schmutz überzogenen Menschen ein überirdischer Anblick, wieder einmal reinlich gekleidete Soldaten zu sehen und den Schall ihrer Trommeln zu hören."

²⁰⁴ The Seventh Württemberg Infantry Regiment had been held back at Minsk and was afterwards routed at the fighting for the bridge-head of Borissov on November 21; it lost 314 dead and wounded out of a total of 484. The rest joined the Württemberg troops who returned from Moscow. Cf. also P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, p. 129 and note. In addition to the Division Loison a detachment of Württemberg troops that had remained at Vilna under Major v. Berndes and a battalion of 300 Swiss troops joined the returning army. See note 23.

²⁰⁵ The fact that Walter, who probably arrived at Smorgoni on December 5, mentions Napoleon's departure in this connection is one more proof of the historical accuracy of his account. Cf. Schuermans, *op. cit.*, p. 314: "Déc. 5, Napoléon arrive à Smorgoni à 2 h.; le soir, l'Empereur part à 8 h. pour la France sous le nom de M. de Rayneval . . ."

²⁰⁶ This, of course, renders the French command "Sauve qui peut." Cf. Yelin, *op. cit.*, p. 33: "Napoleon eilte von hier aus voraus und übergab das Kommando dem Prinzen Murat; nun betrachtete sich alles als verlassen, umso mehr als der Befehl gegeben wurde, dass sich retten solle, wer sich könne." Cf. also Steinmüllers Tagebuch, pp. 45 f. The very best account of the whole episode of Napoleon's return to Paris is in the recently published Caulaincourt Mémoires, vol. II, chs. 7-9.

mando über die Armee übernommen, und ist bei uns geblieben. In der Reiss von der Perezina über Plechnizi, Slaiski, Molodetschno²⁰⁷ und Smoragoni hatte ich den Herrn Mayor zum zweiten mal verlohren, und erst nach Verfluss 7. Tagen traf ich ihn mit einen württembergischen Hauptmann namens Frost, beide waren froh mich als ihren Gehilfen wieder zu haben.

Als wir nächer gegen Willna kamen stieg die Kälte immer höher²⁰⁸ und alles musste von Mosgau an ohne Dach frey im Schnee Kampieren. Nachts sahe mann erst wie gross die Armee noch Plaz einnahm, es waren die Feuren immer 2 Stunden lang und 1. Stunde breit sichtbar, der Himmel von Feuer u: Kälte war glutroth,²⁰⁹ was die abder Strasse noch gestanden und dan brennende Gebäude noch vermehrten. Mehrere Menschen wurden von dem Rauch welher vor Kälte nicht in die Höhe stieg, bereits Blind, und wieder andere wurden diplig, alles Ellend erreichte den höhsten Grad.²¹⁰

Als ich noch 3. Tagereissen nach Willna hatte, gab mir abendes gegen 3. Uhr der Mayor sein Pferdt woriber auch sein Mandel lag, und sagte ich solte nur etwass langsam thun er wolle etwass Nebenzuausdretten, wornach ich in Bälde wieder auf ihn wartete. Der Hauptman Frost und sein Gehilf waren auch bei mir und wartteten, es kam aber kein Major mehr, wir wartteten eine ganze Stund lang, und umsonst. Es war nur zu gewiss zu denken, das er erfrohren war,²¹¹ wahrscheinlich wurde es bei ihm der Fall gewesen sein, das er vor Kälte seine abgezogene Hosen nicht mehr hatte anziehen können, zudem war es hundertfältig dazugekommen wen sich einer aus Schwäche oder Nothdurft

²⁰⁷ Napoleon reached Plechnizi (Pleszczenicz) on November 30; Slaiski, if this is identical with Selitché or Sedlicz, on December 2; Molodetschno (Młodzieczno) on December 3 (Schuermans, op. cit., p. 313). Cf. Steinmüllers *Tagebuch*, p. 43: "Der Marsch des folgenden Tages (4. Dez.), wo wir bis Molodetschno kamen, war noch länger und anstrengender. Zwölf Stunden mussten wir durch den ungeheuren Wald marschieren, ohne anzuhalten, wozu es kalt war. Als wir Molodetschno erreichten, schlugen wir unser Lager in dem dortigen schönen Schlossgarten auf. Napoleon hatte am 3. Dezember im Schlosse . . . sein Quartier genommen und hier das unglückliche 29. Bulletin geschrieben."

²⁰⁸ Cf. A. Rose, op. cit., p. 80: "During the second half of November, and more so during the first days of December, especially on the 8th, 9th, and 10th, when the army arrived at Vilna, the cold had reached the lowest degree; during the night from December 9th to December 10th the thermometer showed -40° Fahrenheit." See note 200.

journey from the Beresina through Plechnizi, Slaiski, Molodetschno, and Smorgoni, I had lost the Major a second time, and not until a week later did I meet him with a Württemberg captain by the name of Frost. Both were happy to have me as their attendant again.

When we approached Vilna, the cold increased still more; everyone had been forced to camp out in the snow without shelter since we had left Moscow. At night one could really see how much space the army still occupied. The fires were always visible about a two-hours' march in length and about an hour's in breadth. Because of the fire and cold, the sky was a glowing red, which was increased by the burning buildings standing off the highway. Many people were almost blinded by the smoke, which did not rise because of the cold, and still others became dizzy. All our misery was reaching its climax.

When I was still a three-days' journey from Vilna, about three o'clock in the afternoon the Major gave me his horse, on which his coat was lying, and said that I should go just a little slowly, since he wanted to walk out a little way; and so I soon stopped and waited for him. Captain Frost and his attendant were also with me and waited, but no Major came back. We waited a whole hour, and in vain. It was only too certain that he had frozen to death. What had probably happened to him was that he had not been able to put on his pulled-down trousers again because of the cold. It had been the fate of many hundreds, when they had sat down because of weakness or neces-

²⁰⁹ Cf. Yelin, *op. cit.*, p. 32: "Der durch die Kälte und das viele Feuer ganz gerötete Himmel machte die Strassen und Umgegend so hell wie bei Tag mit einem ganz roten Schein." Some very logically ascribed the glow to the aurora borealis, which was unusually brilliant that season.

²¹⁰ Cf. Coignet, *op. cit.*, pp. 237 ff.: "But it was at Wilna that we suffered most. The weather was so severe that the men could no longer endure it. Even the ravens froze." For like experiences during this stage of the retreat (as with Cossacks, partisans, etc.), cf. Lossberg, Yelin, Steinmüller, Bourgogne, but especially P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, pp. 121 ff.

²¹¹ He reached Vilna, where he died in a hospital according to the list given by Yelin, *op. cit.*, p. 41 ("Major von Schaumburg"). And General von Roeder mentions "Major von Schaumburg" in a letter of December 30 to the King of Württemberg among those who died in Vilna (facsimile in P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, pp. 160-161). Cf. A. Pfister, *Württ. Kriegsgeschichte*, p. 382 note.

wegen hinsetzte, ihm die Kleithier unnachsichtlich ausrissen, und so er sich nicht genug wehren konte Nackent erfrohr,²¹² auch an mir hatte sich einer ergrifen, den ich jedoch mit einem ziemlichen Stoss abgewiesen habe.

Nachdem ich u: der Hauptmann noch auf unsern Major warteten, ergrif mich die Kälte ungemein, so das ich mich halb erstart fühlte, ich sagte dan, Herr Hauptmann wen Sie Wollen noch zuwarten, so übergebe ich Ihnen des Majors Pferd, ich spühre dass ich am Erführen bin ich gehe. Nun machte sich der Hauptman auch mich, und die Nacht zeigte uns etwa eine halbe Stunde ein Brennendes Ort links der Strasse, auf welches wir zueilten, und daselbst uns wärmten ungefähr bis morgens 5. Uhr. ich hörte auf der Strasse das Hurageschrey und den ungeheuren Lermen, worüber ich den Hauptman auffmerksam machte, wir wollen fort die Russen müssen auf der Strasse sein.

Der Hauptman wolte nicht ab von dem Feuer, und nur auf gewaltsames zureden machte er sich mit fort, ich hatte dan ein Pferd für mich, nahm noch ein Pferd welches gesattelt bei dem Feuer stand, nebst dem Fuxen von dem Major, der Kälte wegen sizte ich nicht auf und führte diese 3. Pferde an den Riemen, und so der Strasse zu, so kamen wir mitten unter den Feund auf die Strasse. Ich hatte keine Kraft mehr auf mein Pferd zu steigen, wegen den mit Lumpen umbundenen Füßen, welche ich nicht in den Steigbigel hatte einsetzen können und ohne Bigel war ich aufzusteigen zu schwach, ich laufte den Trap so gut als möglich mit den Pferden, die Russen ruften uns parton zu, in dem Sinn das wir halten, und uns ergeben solten, allein wir ruften auch Kammurad parton, aber gehalten hatten wir nicht, nun ritten die Kossaken zuerst auf den Hauptman und seinen Bedienten zu, hauten über die Köpfe, und beide stürzten von den Pferd, einer ritt auch auf der linken Seite auf mich stosste seine Lanze in meine Seithe, worauf ich auf die andere Seithe der Pferde sprang, zugleich aber Stosste ein 2ter Kossak seine Lanze auf meinen Halz, ich liess 2. Pferde aus und den Nächsten riss ich auf die Seithe und stürzte mich rechts in den Schnee und das Pferd

²¹² Cf. Steinmüllers Tagebuch, p. 47: "Sooft ein Soldat den Strapazen unterlag und

sity, that their clothing had been brutally torn from them and, where they could not defend themselves, they froze to death naked. Someone had tried this on me also, but I drove him away with a rather hard kick.

While I and the Captain were still waiting for our Major, the cold gripped me so terribly that I felt half-numbed. I said then, "Captain, if you still wish to wait, I'll turn the Major's horse over to you. I feel that I am about to freeze, and so I am going." Then the Captain left, too, and the night showed us a burning hamlet about half a mile away to the left of the highway. We hurried toward it and warmed ourselves there till about five o'clock in the morning. Then I heard cheering and a terrible noise on the highway, to which I called the Captain's attention: "Let's get away; the Russians must be on the highway."

The Captain did not wish to leave the fire, and only after strong argument did he come with me. I then had a horse for myself, in addition to the Major's horse, and took another which stood saddled by the fire. On account of the cold I did not ride but led these three horses by the straps, going toward the highway. Thus we came into the midst of the enemy on the highway. I did not have enough strength to mount my horse, because I could not set my feet, which were bound in rags, in the stirrups and without the use of stirrups I was too weak to mount. I trotted as well as I could with the horses. The Russians called to us that they would pardon us, thinking that we would stop and surrender. We called back, "Comrade, pardon us," but we did not stop. Then the Cossacks rode first at the Captain and his attendant and beat them over the heads; both fell from their horses. One also rode at me from the left and thrust his lance into my side, and so then I sprang to the other side of the horses. At the same time, however, a second Cossack thrust his lance at my neck. I let the two horses go, pulled the nearest one aside, threw myself into the snow and the horse on top of me; so both of us lay as if lifeless in the snow a little off from the road. Here I rested, lying in wait with no feeling of hunger or cold. I only

auch auf mich, so lagen beide leblos scheinend etwass ab der Bahn im Schnee. Hier ruhte ich laurend ohne Entpfündung eines hungers oder Kälte, und nur rüstete ich meine Blike und das Gehör auf den Feund um Gelegenheit zur Flucht zu bekommen, ich sahe das Hauen stossen, und Jammern immer neben mir und ich türfte mich nicht getrauen eine Bewegung zu machen, alles wass aufrecht war wurde zurikgehauen oder umgebracht, und nach und nach Lehrte sich die Strasse, in der Theilung das die erste Kossaken der Armee nachjagten, und die letztern trükten die gefangene zurik. Es war ein Glük für mich, dass kein Kossak vor Kälte Plinterten und die Hände entblössen konte, auch zum Stossen ihrer Lanzen hatten sie die Handschu an weswegen der erste Stich nur durch einige Kleitungsstücke, so auch der 2te auf den Halz, das Fleisch nicht berührten.

Nach Verfluss einer Viertelstunde sahe ich luft um mich, und sogleich wühlte ich mich am Pferd hervor, und laufte gerade von der Strasse rechts in nächste Wilde Heiden u: Wälter höbte jedoch in würklicher Flucht, einen Kössel mit einem Ring auf worin etwass erbsen, und ein paget Muselin innen lag. Als ich dan einsamm im 15" hohen Schnee daher lief und der Gefahr entkommen war. dachte ich an meine Rettung und dankte Gott für seine vätterliche Führsehung, um so ernstlicher als ich wie von Gott bereitet, in die einzle Fernne diese Erbsen und zugleich ein Kochgeschirr erhalten habe. Es war immer allgemeine Noth um Kochgeschirr, bereits der hunterste Man wahr nur damit versehen, bereits durchaus musste ich mein Pferdfleisch, Hanfsammen, Roken, und rohe Körner ungekocht essen, man hatte erstens kein Feuer, 2tens kein Wasser sondern langsam den Schnee schmelzen, und endlich kein Geschirr, mehrtheils aber von allem dem garnichts.²¹³

In meiner halb frohen und halb toden lage wühlte ich selbigen Tag bereits 1½ Stunden ab der Schose vorwärts,²¹⁴ und nur das Sausen u: Klirren der Radschienen nebst dem Menschengeschrey kleitete mich im Marsch unfehlbar. Es wurde nacht, und ich brauchte nicht zu denken wo ligst du hin, sondern

hinfiel, eilte sein nächster Nachbar zu ihm und zog ihn aus, noch ehe er verschied, um

kept my eyes and ears fixed on the enemy in order to get an opportunity to flee. I saw the beating and pushing, and heard the whining which continued around me and could not risk making a move. All who still were standing upright were knocked down or killed. Little by little the road was emptied, since the Cossacks in front pursued the army and those behind retreated with the captives. It was my good fortune that no Cossack could plunder or expose his hands because of the cold. They had their gloves on even while thrusting their lances; that is why the first stroke at me had only passed through some of my clothes, and even the second at my neck had not injured the flesh.

After a quarter of an hour had passed, I saw it clear around me, and immediately worked myself from beneath the horse, and ran straight to the nearest wild heaths and woods on the right side off the highway. Nevertheless, in the midst of my flight I picked up a kettle with a bail on it, inside of which lay peas and a package of muslin. While I was running along in 15 inches of snow, having escaped the danger, I thought of my rescue and thanked God for His fatherly providence — all the more so since I had obtained these peas and at the same time a cooking utensil in this lonely expanse, as though prepared by God. There was always a general need for cooking utensils, and only about one man in a hundred was provided with any. Nearly always I had to eat my horse meat, hempseed, rye, and raw grains uncooked. First of all, one had no fire; secondly, no water, having slowly to melt snow; and, finally, no utensils — usually, however, not any of all these.

In my half-joyful and half-dead condition I worked my way forward on this same day almost an hour and a half, traveling off the highway. Only the rumbling and clanging of iron tires, together with the cries of people, guided me unfailingly along my way. It grew dark, and I did not need to think: "Where will you sleep?" But as always: "The snow is your bed; and your

sich mit seinen Lumpen zu bedecken." Similarly Yelin, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 22 f.

²¹³ Various narratives mention the shortage of cooking utensils; so Bourgeois, *op. cit.*, pp. 210, 212, 217, 259, 274.

²¹⁴ Phonetic spelling of the French word *Chaussée*.

wie immerher ist der Schnee dein Bett, und dein Mantel u: Pelz seine Deke, doch auf einmal sahe ich eine Stunde vorwärts abermal ein Orth brennen wo ich dan eilte dorthin zu kommen. Als ich näher kamm lauerte ich auf Vernehmung der Sprache, ich zum Glück wieder keine Russen, u: laufte dan zum Feuer es waren ungefehr ettliche 20. Gebäude im Brand, hier traf ich wider zu 3. Würtemberger und blieb die Nacht bei ihnen.

Einer sagte wen du deine Erbsen kochst und ich darf mitesen, so thue ich fett darein und Salz, was ich dan gerne eingieng, ich würte es auch ohne dies nicht haben sehen können meine Landsleuthe neben meinem so seltsamen guten Gericht, hungern zu lassen. das fett kam hinein, und wurde endlich gegessen, es wehrte aber kaum einige Schübe lang, so brente und krätzte uns der Halz so stark, das keiner im stande war weiter zu Essen, wir fissitirten²¹⁵ das fett, und — es war Saifen. Das Essen musste ausgeschitt werden, und der Hunger beybehalten dan die Erbsen waren alle gekocht. So blieben wir die halbe nacht, und reissten dan weiter. Denselbigen und auch den 3ten tag hatte ich gar nichts zu essen, als einmal in einer gefundenen Kufe roden rüben brühe wo noch ein Loch ungefehr 3" breit in der Mitte ungefroren war, und zum Durst trünken konte.

Am dritten Tag Abends erreichte ich die Armee vor Willna in einem entsezlichen Gewühl, ich langte auch kaum vor den Russen an, welche unaufhörlich gefangene machten. Hier stand ich an einer Menschenmasse welche alle Higel vor der Stadt einnahmen,²¹⁶ und vor Wägen und Pferde welche sich vor den Stadthoren ineinander gepropft und ohne lebende Pferde waren, konten auch die Fussgehende Masse nicht mehr vorwärts, mit mih und Lebensgefahr schlagte man sich über die Pferdte u: Wägen, wass mich entschloss die Stadt ganz zu umgehen und von der untern Seite herein zu kommen.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ In Swabian dialect used frequently in the sense of "to examine."

²¹⁶ Cf. Steinmüllers Tagebuch, pp. 48 f.: "Endlich gegen Abend (8. Dezember) erreichten wir die Vorstadt. Aber wie wurden wir enttäuscht! Die ganze Vorstadt war durch ein schreckliches Gewühl von Wagen, Pferden und Menschen verrammelt. Dieser Wirwar erinnerte uns lebhaft an die Beresina. . . . In der Stadt angekommen fand ich alles im grössten Durcheinander." Cf. also P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, pp. 143 f.;

coat and fur, your cover!" Yet suddenly I saw again a burning village about an hour's journey ahead; so I hurried to get there. When I came near, I was on my guard until I heard what language was spoken. Since I heard no more Russians, luckily, I ran to the fire. There were some twenty buildings in flames. Here I again met three men from Württemberg, and I passed the night with them.

One of them said, "If you cook your peas and if I may eat with you, I will add salt and fat," to which I gladly consented. Even without this offer I would not have been able to see my countrymen go hungry so near my own unusually good dish. The fat was added, and finally we ate. When we had eaten scarcely a few mouthfuls, however, our throats burned and itched so strongly that no one was able to keep on. We examined the fat: it was soap. The food had to be thrown out, and only our hunger remained, for the peas had all been cooked. We stayed there half the night and then traveled on. The next day and also the third one, I had nothing at all to eat except some beet-juice broth I found once in a wooden tub that had a hole in the middle about three inches wide, which was unfrozen so that I could quench my thirst.

On the evening of the third day I reached the army just outside Vilna. It was in a terrific tumult. I arrived there scarcely before the Russians, who were constantly taking prisoners. Here I stood beside a mass of people who occupied all the hills in front of the city. On account of the horses and the wagons, many of them without living horses, which had piled in front of the city gates, the soldiers could not go ahead. With difficulty and with risk of life, people worked their way over the horses and wagons. Therefore, I decided to go entirely around the city and to come in from the lower side.

Castellane, *op. cit.*, II, 208. Apparently Walter arrived at Vilna on December 9, the date of the Russian approach to this city which he mentions.

²¹⁷ For conditions and varied experiences at Vilna at this time, cf. Lossberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-159, Bourgogne, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-228, Castellane, *op. cit.*, pp. 208 ff., P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, pp. 145 ff., H. B. George, *op. cit.*, pp. 381-384; and from the enemy side, Rochemouart, *op. cit.*, 165 ff., and R. T. Wilson, *Private Diary*, I, 250 ff.

Zu diesem unternehmen führte mich ein aus zufall getrofener Landsmann, des alten Traubenwirthsson von Ellwangen, welcher mit dem Depo zu uns kam, dieser als schon fruher in der Stadt bekannt, führte mich auf besondere Wege in die Stadt, verlorh aber in Kürzen diesen guten Freund auch wieder, ich schlief²¹⁸ dan in einem Nebengässgen in ein Haus worin einige Juden waren. Diesen sagte ich gleich für Geld Brandwein u: Brod anzuschaffen jedoch für meinen Muselin ungefehr 10 Ehlen eine Flasche Brandwein von anderhalb schoben gross, ich handelte nicht lang, sondern der Hunger machte es kurz. Ich bekam den Brandwein, auch ein Stük Brod um 4. polnische Gulden und verzehrte alles mit heissem Appetitt, als der Brandwein gar war presste ich noch mal eine solche Flasche heraus jedoch nur um einen silberrubel, kein Brod aber nicht mehr. Dieweil ich innerhab 3. Stunden 3. schoppen Brandwein getrunken habe muss mancher glauben ich mich ungemein damit berauscht, worzu es aber weit fehlte,²¹⁹ obgleich der Brandwein ein ortentlicher Fruchtbrandwein war, so habe ich wenig im Kopf davon gespürt, da der Magen und alle Theile des Körpers lehr und ausgehölt, und keine Kräften zuvor dawaren. Auch mochte ich nichts überlassen von diesem Genuss, da es heisste bei mir: Vogel friss oder Stirb.

Als die Nacht halb herum war machte ich mich auf den Weeg um nicht hinten an der Armee zu sein, ich machte mich in einen geschlossenen Hof hinein wo viele Pferdte waren band eins ab welches noch ein ordentliches Schlitten geschürr anhatte, und Ritt die Stadt hinaus. Etwa eine halbe Stunde von der Stadt war ein Berg wodie Wägen und Pferdte abermal sich stekten,²²⁰ die Glätte der Strasse, und die abgeschliffene Pferdteisner²²¹ machten das hinaufkommen unmöglich, die Pferdte Stürzten und die Anhäufung der Wägen verramelten die Strasse so das

²¹⁸ See notes 11, 33, and 169. The Ellwangen tavern called "Goldene Traube" was owned by Joseph Hirsch, "Traubenwürth und Beckh," from 1788-1833.

²¹⁹ On drunkenness at Vilna, cf. Labaume, *op. cit.*, pp. 331 f. Regarding the effects of brandy, cf. H. B. George, *op. cit.*, p. 384. Also note the direful incident at Kovno on December 12, where rioting soldiers who had robbed the brandy magazines slept and froze in the streets. Bourgeois says 1500 died thus (*op. cit.*, p. 259). Cf. also Castellane,

I was led to this undertaking by a countryman whom I met there by accident, the son of the old *Traubenwirth* from Ellwangen, who came to us with the reserves. Having been acquainted with the city before, he led me into it by special paths; but in a short time I lost this good friend, too. Then I crept down a little side street into a house in which there were some Jews. I at once offered them money to get me brandy and bread. However, for my muslin, about ten yards, they offered me only a flask of brandy, about a pint and a half. I did not haggle long, because my hunger urged me to be short. I obtained the brandy, also a piece of bread, for four Polish florins and consumed everything with a ravishing appetite. When the brandy was gone, I extorted another such flask for one silver ruble but no more bread. Because I had drunk three pints of brandy within three hours, many might believe that I became terribly intoxicated, but I was far from that. Although the brandy was a decent grain brandy, I felt very little effect from it in my head, since my stomach and all parts of my body were empty and hollow and there had been no strength there before. Besides, I did not want to waste anything of this pleasure, since in my case it was a question of "Bird, eat or die!"

When the night was half gone, I started on my way so that I would not be at the rear of the army. I made my way into an enclosed court where there were many horses, untied one which was still in regular sleigh harness, and rode out of the city. About half an hour from the city there was a hill where the wagons and horses again were halted. The slipperiness of the road and the smooth horseshoes made climbing up impossible. The horses fell, and the piling up of the wagons blocked the highway so that those on foot had to climb over them. To avoid this tumult,

op. cit., I, 212 f., and P. Holzhausen, op. cit., part II, p. 174.

²²⁰ Cf. Steinmüllers *Tagebuch*, p. 50: "Daher verliessen wir am 10. Dez. mit Tagesanbruch die Stadt und schlugen die Strasse nach Kowno ein. Nach zwei Stunden erreichten wir einen wegen seiner Steilheit und wegen des Glatteis, mit dem er bedeckt war, ganz unzugänglichen Hügel (Ponari)." Cf. P. Holzhausen, op. cit., part II, pp. 164 ff.

²²¹ See note 140. — Cf. Coignet, op. cit., pp. 237, 239.

die Fussgehende darüber Steigen mussten.²²² Diesem Gemezel auszuweichen machte ich mich rechts über das Wasser das Thal hinunter und eine Stunde unterhalb dieses Bergs ritt ich über einen Bequemern Berg der Heresstrasse wieder zu. So glücklich ich war in Willna das ich nicht nur ein Brod u: Brandwein, sondern auch wieder ein Pferd bekam, so konnte ich das neue Ellend wieder nicht überdenken, der Hunger füng wieder an, und die Kälte war noch eben sogross, wie vergangenen Tagen ja wie viele Nächte hast noch auszuhalten ohne Obdach und ohne Feuer waren meine Gedanken wieder und dan wieder — O meine Freunde wie gerne woltet ihr mir Hülfe leisten, und wie sehnlich wollet ihr mich wieder sehen, ist es möglich, — so fantasirte ich den ganzen Tag.

Gegen Ende Decemb: erreichten wir die Polnische Gränze an der Memel.²²³ als ich vernahm das bei Kofno²²⁴ es schwer halten werde durchzukommen, so führte ich mein Pferd oberhalb über den Fluss, welcher mit Eisschimmel²²⁵ hoh angefüllt war, es war nämlich ein treibeis der Stüke von 15 — 18' hoh auf um her stozte,²²⁶ und nur äusserst mühsam inzwischen durchzusteigen war. Hier theilte sich auch die polnische Armee links ab und schlug den Weg gegen Warschau ein, diese Wendung benüzte ich, mit vielen Teutschen.²²⁷ Auf dieser Route glaubten alle der Feund werde die Polen nicht mehr verfolgen, und daher sicher sein allein, wegen Raub und Ausplünderung liessen sie auch hier nicht ab, sogar die Polen selbst raubten und Plinterten öfters die Teutschen u: Franzosen, was ich selbigen Abend noch erfahren habe.²²⁸

²²² Here Walter omits a significant incident. Cf. Steimmüllers *Tagebuch*, pp. 50 f.: "Ringsherum war der Rest von Napoleons Equipagen, die zu Wilna beim Marsch nach Moskau verbliebene Bagage, die Kriegskasse der Armee und mehrere andere Wagen, auf welchen sich die traurigen Trophäen von Moskau befanden, die den Berg nicht hinaufkommen konnten. Auch liess man am Fusse des Hügels die den Feinden abgenommenen Fahnen und das berühmte Kreuz des Heiligen Iwan." Cf. also Coignet, *op. cit.*, p. 241; Castellane, *op. cit.*, II, 209 f.; Bourcogne, *op. cit.*, pp. 237 ff.

²²³ This date is obviously incorrect, since Walter had got beyond Ortelsburg and to Mlawä (?) by Christmas Eve. See note 236. Indeed from the context it must have been within three or four days after leaving Vilna, an assumption which agrees with what we know of the movements of others whom he mentions and with the fact that Kovno had fallen to the Russians by December 14.

²²⁴ Kovno, today Kaunas in Lithuania, on the right bank of the Niemen (Memel), 70 miles W. of Vilna, via Eve and Zismory. From here the remnants of the different

I crossed the stream to the right and went down the valley. An hour's journey below this hill, I rode over a less steep slope back toward the highway. Because I had been so fortunate at Vilna as to obtain not only bread and brandy but also a horse, it was even harder now to face the misery once more. Hunger began again, and the cold was still just as bad as in past days. "Truly, how many more nights will you have to endure without shelter and without fire?" I thought again and again. "My friends, how you would love to help me, and how you would long to see me again, but will it be possible?" That is what I was dreaming about all day long.

By the end of December, we reached the Polish border along the Memel River. When I heard that it would be very hard to get through near Kovno, I led my horse up the river and crossed: it was filled high with pieces of ice, really drifting ice. Pieces from 15 to 18 inches thick drifted by, so that it was extremely troublesome to climb through between them. Here the Polish army turned to the left and set out on the highway into Warsaw. I and many other Germans made use of this turn. Everyone believed that the enemy would no longer pursue the Poles on this route, and, therefore, one would be safe; but in their eagerness to rob and plunder the enemy did not stop even here. Even the Poles themselves frequently robbed and plundered the Germans and French, as I found out the same evening.

army corps were directed to various gathering places such as Königsberg, Thorn, Marienburg, Marienwerder, and Elbing. Cf. P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, pp. 182 f.: "Kurz hinter Kowno stand am beschneiten Scheidewege ein französischer Generalstabsoffizier, der mit Stentorstimme rief: 'Du troisième corps d'armée par ici' usw. Aber man kümmerte sich nicht allzuviel um seine Weisungen."

²²⁵ "Chunk of ice," a Swabian dialect expression. Cf. Schwäb. Wb., II, 680 f.: *Eisschemel*, "Eisscholle."

²²⁶ The exact meaning of this passage is not clear. It is, therefore, freely translated.

²²⁷ Cf. Steinmüllers *Tagebuch*, p. 53: "Ein Teil der Truppen schlug den Weg nach Gumbinnen, ein anderer rechts nach Tilsit ein. Auch zerstreuten sich einige Trümmer der Armee auf verschiedenen Wegen nach Polen, das sie gleich wandernden Bettlern durchzogen."

²²⁸ Reports of insecurity from Cossacks and pretended Cossacks, from treacherous peasants, and army stragglers who preyed on unprotected comrades, are numerous for the retreat through Poland and Prussia. Lossberg received reports of such dangers on the Stallupönen-Gumbinnen road on December 13 from Westphalian soldiers who may well have shared Walter's dangers two days earlier. Cf. Lossberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 165 ff., Bourgonne, *op. cit.*, pp. 281 ff., and P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, p. 183.

Es ritt nämlich selbigen abend noch ein Haufen Reitter mir nach u: sagten, Kammrad bleib bei uns, ich sagte ja gut, ist recht, als wir weiter kamen so grifen sie einige an nahmen ihnen die Pferde und was sie hatten, ab, als ich dieses sahe, wendete ich mein Pferd und ritt zurik was möglich war, holten mich jedoch nicht mehr ein, da gerade eine Truppe Infanteri westfählner nachkamen zu welchen ich mich Anschloss. Mit diesen glaubte ich immer zu reissen, allein, als es nacht war, suchten wir ein Dorf, aber keines wurden wir gewahr. Endlich blitzen einge Lichter über der Memmel jenseits worauf wir uns entschlüssten wider hiniber zu gehen, dan dem Hunger u: der Kälte wegen scheute man weniger Gefahr, zu dem als wir glaubten der Feund seye zurik.

Es war wirklich ein Dorf, hier kam ich das erste mal wieder, seit Mosgau, in ein ordentliches Haus, wo wir warm hatten und um Geld Brod und Brantwein haben konten. Wir waren unsere 10. Man, und die Dorfbewohner schienen ungefährlich zu sein, Endlich so gegen 10 Uhr Nachts verlangten zwey Bauren Batronen uns sagend, auf die Hasenjagt zugehen.

Die Westfählner hatten noch Gewehr und Pulfer, und gaben auch Batronen ab. Es tauerte kaum eine Stunde als wir auf dem Boden lagen Stürmte ein Haufen Bauren herein Pakten die auf dem Boden lagen, und nahmen ihnen die Gewehre ab. Ich sahe also keine Hilfe mehr mit anzuwenden und dachte auch es sind noch russische Bauren, die zum Morden noch roh genug sind.

Das Licht wurde ausgelöscht und im Augenblick nahm ich meinen Hut unter dem Pelz gieng zur Thüre hinaus, nahm mein neben der Thür angebundenes Pferd uneingezäumt und ritt ohne Bahn, hinter dem Dorf über Zäune und Schneehäufen, so das ich und das Pferd ein über das andere mal Stürzten öfters lag ich unter u: ober dem Pferd.

Nun war ich frei und selbstn mir wider überlasen. Als ich wieder eine Bahn bemerkte ritt ich so schnell als ich konte, den der Lermen war im Ort sogross das ich glauben konte ich könnte noch eingeholt werden. Ich ritt so fertig als es sein konte über

That evening a troop of riders rode up to me and said, "Comrade, stay with us!" I said, "It's all right with me." When we had gone a little further, they attacked some of the soldiers and took their horses and whatever they had. When I saw this, I turned my horse and rode back as swiftly as possible. They did not catch me again, since just then there approached a troop of Westphalian infantry, which I joined. I expected to continue to travel with these. When it grew dark, however, we looked for a village, but we did not see one. Finally, some lights blinked from the other side of the Memel. We decided to cross back, for hunger and cold made us not so afraid of danger, and we believed besides that the enemy was far away.

It really was a village. Here, for the first time since we had left Moscow, I came into a decent house, where we were warm and could have bread and brandy for our money. There were ten of us, and the villagers did not seem to be dangerous. At last, about ten o'clock, two peasants asked for bullets, telling us that they were going rabbit-hunting.

The Westphalians still had rifles and powder, and they even gave them bullets. Hardly an hour had passed before a troop of peasants stormed in, seized those who lay on the floor, and took their rifles from them. I saw no chance for help and considered besides that these were Russian peasants, who were still brutal enough to do murder.

The lights were extinguished; and in an instant I took my hat under my fur and went out the door, took my horse which was standing tied and unbridled near the door, and rode away from the village over fences and snowdrifts without following any set course, so that I and my horse fell one time after another. Sometimes I fell beneath him and sometimes on top of him.

Now I was free and left to myself again. As soon as I noticed a trail, I rode as fast as I could, for the noise in the village was so great that I believed I might still be overtaken. I rode as quickly as possible over the cracks in the ice across the Memel River in order to get to the Polish side again. The whole night now I

die Eiskluben²²⁹ der Memel hinüber, und wieder auf der Polnischen Seite zu sein. Die ganze nacht eilte ich nun ein Orth zu treffen wo wieder Leuthe von der Arme zu treffen, Endlich kam ich morgens früh in ein Städtchen, das wieder mit teutschen, Franzosen u: Polen angefüllt war, jedoch bekam ich noch ein Brod.

Von der Memel bis Mosgau, und von dort bis hierher, hatte ich kein Brod mehr gefasst, noch zu kaufen bekommen mit Ausnahm in Willna,²³⁰ und nun mit dem Pferdthfleisch ein Ende, ich hatte noch 20. Silberrubel in der Tasche womit ich hofte meine fernere Bedürfnisse zu befriedigen, ich hatte freylich bei der Gefangennehmung einen Werth, in Silber und Seiden, (ahne die 3. Pferdte und übrige Mayors Baggage) von 4. bis 500 f. verloren, wass ich aber wegen Rettung meines Lebens nicht gross achtete, die gleichgiltigkeit nach Geld war bei mir so gross, das ich 4. Tagreissen hinter Willna eine Geldkassette nicht berührte, wehrend solhe offen zu boden lag, und die Fässgen herausen umrollten, auch nur wenige Soldaten hatten bei meinem Vorüberreiten gebrauch davon gemacht.²³¹ Warum aber dieses Geld nicht mehr Reiz gemacht hatte, war Schuld die bereits unmögliche Blossmachung der Hände, an welchen ich blos im Augenblick vor Steife nichts mehr fühlte, noch anfassen konte. und dan der Eyfer fortzukommen um nicht hinten abgefangen zuwerden, trug auch dazu Dieser Kassen wäge wurde eben so ungeachtet als ein anderer Wäge verlasen, die Pferde strenge also abgeschnitten aufgesessen, und davongeritten, wen anderst die Pferdte noch zu haben oder brauchbar waren.

Ich Eilte also weiter und schlug die Strasse ein zwischen

²²⁹ "Crack in the ice," a Swabian dialect expression. Cf. Schwäb. Wb., IV, 506: "Klub m. Spalt in Brettern, Fenstern u. ä." Used in the region about Ellwangen.

²³⁰ Early on December 10 Murat's remnant left Vilna for Kovno, following the highway via Eve and Zizmory except for detours as at the Ponary defile. Riders like Castellane and Lossberg had arrived in the afternoon of December 12, while most of the very crippled and ill, such as Bourgoigne and Coignet, straggled in during December 13, or by the next morning, when Ney was making his last forlorn stand against the oncoming Russians before he crossed the Niemen. Since Walter was well and had a horse enabling him to arrive early at Kovno, we cannot guess why he thought he could not get through there. — Most likely his crossings of the Niemen were along the big bend where — especially between Rumschicki and Kovno — river and highway ran near each other.

hurried to find a village where people from the army were to be found again. Finally early in the morning, I came into a little town which was crowded with Germans, Frenchmen, and Poles. Nevertheless, I was able to get some bread.

From the Memel River to Moscow and back from there to here, I had not obtained any bread, nor could I buy it except at Vilna; and now there was an end to horse meat. I still had twenty rubles in my pocket with which I hoped to satisfy my future wants. It is true at the time of my capture I had lost silver and silk worth four or five hundred florins besides the three horses and the remaining baggage of the Major. However, I did not miss this particularly, since I had saved my life. The indifference toward money was so great with me that at a point four days' journey from Vilna I did not touch a cart loaded with money which lay on the ground so broken up that the little coin barrels were rolling out. Only a few soldiers had taken any of it when I rode by. There were two reasons, though, why this money had no attraction any longer. It was nearly impossible for me to expose my hands, which were so stiff at the time that I could not feel or take hold of anything with them. I also was eager to get on so as not to be captured at the rear. This money wagon was abandoned as carelessly as any other wagon and the traces cut off. Then if the horses were still there and could be used, the men mounted them and rode on.

I hurried on, therefore, and took the highway between

Note Bourgogne's experiences there, and particularly his tale of the Dassonville brothers, whose experiences almost seem to confirm Walter's account. Cf. Bourgogne, *op. cit.*, pp. 253 ff., 267 ff., 291 ff., and concerning the crossings on the ice of the Niemen, P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, p. 179, Lossberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 166 ff., Steinmüller *Tagebuch*, pp. 51 f.

²³¹ Perhaps the incident is that related by Coignet (*op. cit.*, p. 239) as happening on the road to Vilna. But more likely the reference is to the case reported by Baron von Heeringen, who convoyed a treasure shipment to Vilna, when Murat had to leave there. With much trouble it was got back across the Niemen by December 13, but three leagues beyond Kovno wagon accidents in a defile led to pillage by stragglers and escort troops. On December 14 other breaks and more looting occurred. This was on the way to Vilkoviski on the Pillkallen road. Cf. Lossberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 168 f., Heeringen's report to Berthier in A. M. Chuquet, *Lettres de 1812* (Paris, 1910), pp. 272-278, P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, pp. 177 f., and Bourgogne, *op. cit.*, p. 268. Since this was exactly four days after Walter left Vilna it serves as a check on a confusing section of his narrative. See notes 223, 230, 233, 236.

Königsberg und Warschau, nach Thorn wo die Strasse täglich voll war mit Deutschen und Franzosen. Es konte bisher an kein Quartier noch gedenkt, noch anderst als für Geld, oder mit Gewalt Lebensmittel erhalten werden. Eines Tags kam ich an der Strasse in einen Edelhof in welchem ich Brod verlangte, erhielt auch nicht nur Brod, sondern auch Butter u: Brandwein, dan ein Haussdiener war da der Teutsch sprechen konte, und fragte mich was ich für ein Landsman were, und wie die Stadt oder Ort heisse wo ich zu Haus sei, ich sagte ihm alles, untern andern auch das ich ein Katholik seye, und mein verstorbener Landesfirst ein Prinz von König in Polen gewesen seye.²³² Dieses freite den Man ungemein, dan wan die Polen wussten das einer ein Katholik ist, so schätzten sie solchen besonders, vor andern, ich bekam dan auch auf den Weg noch einiges zuessen mit. Als ich aber nach meinem Pferdtschaute war es schon fort, nur als besonders bei dem Edelman begünstigt, erhielt ich es wider, bereits jeder der einsel daher kam mit einem Pferdts wurde es abgenommen.

Als ich einige Tage späther abermal in einem (Krug) Wirthshaus nur ein Glass Brantwein getrunken und mein Pferdts vor die Haussthüre gebunden hatte, wurde es mir gestohlen, alles aussuchen in Häuser und Ställe war umsonst, und so wurde ich wieder auf meine eigene Füsse gestellt. Bisssher waren meine Füsse über den Schuen, dik mit wollen tuch umwikelt wass zum laufen schwere halber nicht mehr taugte, nun forderte sichs jeden morgen, so ich aus dem Hauss war eine Stunde wegs dichtig zu Springen, unmöglich glaubte ich die Füsse vor Erfrühren zu retten.

Ich kam dan weiters gegen Ordensburg,²³³ mit noch 8. Teutschen Kamuraden, wo der Weeg durch einen bereits 3. stunden langen Wald führte.

In dieser Gegend hatten die Polen Räuberbanden gebildet, und der Kossakenkleitung mit Säbel Pistolen u: andern Gewehre. u: würrlich kam ein Haufen pakte mich einer rechts einer links, und der 3te sezte mir den Sabel auf die Brust, meine Kamuraden

Königsberg and Warsaw to Thorn, where the road was thronged every day with Germans and Frenchmen. Until now there had been no thought of lodgings, nor could victuals be obtained except with money or force. One day along the road I came to a nobleman's manor-house at which I asked for bread and obtained not only bread but also butter and brandy, for there was a house servant there who could speak German. He asked me my nationality and the name of the town or village where my home was. I told him everything, that I was a Catholic and that the late sovereign of my country had been a prince of the King of Poland. This pleased the man immensely, because when the Polish people knew that one was a Catholic they esteemed him much above others. Then I was given also several things to eat along the way; but, when I looked for my horse, it was already gone. Only as a particular favor on the part of the nobleman did I get it again. Nearly everyone who came along alone with a horse had it taken from him.

Several days later, while I once more drank a glass of brandy in an inn, having tied my horse in front of the door, it was stolen from me. All my searching in houses and stables was useless, and so I was set on my own feet again. Until now my feet had been wrapped with woolen cloth over my shoes, but because of the weight this was a hindrance to walking. Now, every morning as soon as I was outdoors, it was necessary to run energetically for an hour along the way. I thought it would be impossible to keep my feet from freezing.

Then with eight German comrades I proceeded toward Ortelsburg, where the road led through a wood that it took almost three hours to journey through.

In this region the Poles had formed robber bands wearing Cossacks' outfits with sabers, pistols, and other arms. A gang of these actually came and grabbed me, one at the right, one at the left, the third setting a saber against my breast. My comrades

²²² There is no historical basis for this statement by Walter.

²²³ Probably Ortelsburg in East Prussia, 82 miles SSE. of Königsberg.

blieben vorwärts unangegriffen in dem selbige etwass mehr den Betteljuden ähnlich waren als ich. jezt rissen sie meinen Pelz, Mantel, Kollet, Westen und Meine Kopftücher ab, warfen mich zu boden, und wolten meine Stifel auch ausziehen, inzwischen fanden sie mein Geld in der Kollett Tasche im Betrag 18. Rubel. Dieses war den meine Rettung, würden sie das Geld nicht gefunden haben, so hätte ich Kleitungsloss erfrühren müssen, so aber warfen sie den Mantel das Kollet nebst einem Westle wieder hin,²³⁴ und mit dem Geld, dem Pelz, einem Westle und 2. Kopftücher reissten sie ab. Unterdessen hielten sich meine Kamoraden in der Ferne versteck, und als sie sahen das ich lossgeben war liefen sie zurik und zihnten mich an, dan ich war nicht im Stande vor Steife mich wieder anzuziehen.

Selbigen Abend kam ich nach Ordensburg, und ich wurde das erste mal wieder einquatirt, von dieser Stadt kam ich dan weiter nach Niklawi²³⁵ und wurde daselbst abermal einquatirt. Es war gerade die Gristnacht²³⁶ was ich ohne erfahren von dem Hausswirth nicht hätte gewusst nun waschte ich mich hier auch das erste mal wieder, von den Leisen²³⁷ aber oder von meiner Oberherrschaft konte ich mich nicht reinigen, dan hätte ich auch tausend ermordet so würden die andern viele Tausend an mir Rache genommen haben, weswegen ich meinen Angriff nicht unternommen habe.

Mit meinem Wassen der Hände, und dem Gesicht gieng es sehr langsam, dan die Rufen an Hände, Ohren, und Nasen waren wie eine Forchen-Rinde mit Rize und Kolenschwarzen Schupen überwachsen, dass Gesicht glich einem mit Bart überwachsenen ruschen Bauren, und als ich in den Spiegel sahe habe ich mich selbstn über meine Fremde-Gesichtsbildung erstaunt, ich waschte dan eine Stunde lang mit heissem Wasser u: Seife, allein, nur etwass geschlächter²³⁸ und Leichter fühlte ich geworden zu sein, von Abnehmung an Schwärze und Schupen sahe ich aber nichts, bloss da wo ich nicht rassirt hatte schaute etwass hellere Haut hervor.

²³⁴ Westle, "small vest," with the diminutive ending *-le* (instead of *-lein*) so characteristic of Swabian dialect. Cf. Schwäb. Wb., VI, part I, p. 728.

²³⁵ Niklawi, probably Milawa, 46 miles NNE. of Plock.

ahead remained unassailed, because they looked somewhat more like beggar Jews than I. Now the robbers tore off my fur, coat, cape, vests, and my head cloths; threw me to the ground; and were about to pull off my boots, too. In the meantime they found my money, to the amount of 18 rubles, in my cape pocket. This was my salvation: had they not found the money, I would have been left to freeze to death unclothed. As it was, however, they threw down the coat and the cape again along with one of the two vests and traveled off with the money, the fur, the other vest, and two head cloths. During this time my comrades kept hidden in the distance; and, when they saw that I was set free, they came running back and dressed me, for I was so stiff that I was not in a condition to dress myself.

That same evening I came to Ortelsburg and for the first time was given regular quarters. From this city I went on to Niklawi [Mlava?] and at that place received quarters again. It was just Christmas Eve, a date I would not have known if I had not learned it from the landlord. Here I also washed myself for the first time, but I could not rid myself of the lice, or rather of my "sovereigns," because if I had murdered as many as a thousand then the many other thousands would have taken revenge on me. For this reason, I did not undertake an attack on them. . . .

The washing of my hands and face proceeded very slowly because the crusts on my hands, ears, and nose had grown like fir-bark, with cracks and coal black scales. My face resembled that of a heavily bearded Russian peasant; and, when I looked into the mirror, I was astonished myself at the strange appearance of my face. I washed, then, for an hour with hot water and soap. However, I felt I had only become somewhat smoother and lighter, but I could not notice any removal of the blackness and the scales. Only where I had not been shaving did a somewhat lighter skin appear.

²³⁶ Phonetic spelling of *Christnacht* according to the Swabian dialect pronunciation. See note 223.

²³⁷ See notes 118, 170, and 253.

²³⁸ I.e., "smooth" in Swabian dialect. Cf. *Schwäb. Wb.*, III, 471: "*Geschlachte Haut*."

In dieser Stadt waren auch neu errichtete Regimenter welche zur Unterstützung für unsere Armee, und so in ganz Polen, ausgehoben worden sind. Diese Leuthe waren zu Pferd mit Lanzen bewaffnet, hatten dike Mädel und Kleitung an, in welchen sich bereits keiner rühren konte, ich sahe mehrere, welche sich arg Plagten um auf das Pferd zu sitzen, und als sie glaubten oben zu sein, fühlen sie auf der andern Seite wider hinunter.

Als wir den andern Tag abreissten war uns das Thor gegen Thorn u: Warschau versperrt, und alle solten wider zurik nach Königsberg nach Befehl des StadtCommandanten, allein dieser Comandant Handelte nach Befehl und wir wussten besser dass Verhältniss der Arme, wir waren kaum bei dem Königsberger thor hinaus marschirten wir alle wieder links auf die Thoner Strasse, um bei Königsberg nicht in die Mitte des Feunds zu laufen, ja genug kostette es uns Anstrengung vor denen Russen nach Thorn zu kommen, was bei Verspähung 2. Tagen auch geschehen were.

Unterwegs begegneten wir einer Kollone Bayern welche von Königsberg nach dem Samelplatz Ploks²³⁹ die Marschruthe hatten,²⁴⁰ diese berichten uns die Nachricht, dass auch die Würtemberger sich in Thorn versammelten und die Teutschen alle zu Haus türfen. Diese Nachricht sterkte mir den Muth wider, in dem ich immer glaubte, an der Weichsel wird sich die Arme wieder stellen und Organisiren, es wird daher keiner vor ungefähr noch 2. Jahren wen es auch gut gehen solte, heimkommen, oder beabschied werden, wass mich die Regrutierung in Polen sicher glaubent machte.

Endlich kam ich nach Thorn, und auch meiner einziger Silberubel, den ich bei der Ausplinderung in meinem Uhrentächen davon brachte, war verzehrt. Hier gieng ich auf die Munizibalität um ein Quatir zu erhalten, kam aber vor der Menschenmenge nicht vor. Einsmal kam ein Teutscher Sodat, u: sagte, in dieser Gasse No. wohne ein Comisär von Würtemberg er gäbe Pässe und Reissgeld her, sogleich meldete ich mich auch

²³⁹ Plock or Plotzk on the Vistula, capital of the government of Plock, 58 miles WNW. of Warsaw.

In this city, as in all Poland, there were also newly established regiments which had been enlisted for the reënforcement of our army. These people were on horseback, armed with lances, and had on thick coats and clothing in which hardly any of them could move about. I saw several who made a desperate effort to mount a horse, only to fall down again on the other side when they thought themselves up.

As we were departing the next day, the gate toward Thorn and Warsaw was barricaded against us, and everyone was supposed to go back to Königsberg according to the orders of the commandant of the city. This commandant acted on orders. However, we knew the condition of the army better. We were hardly outside the Königsberg gate when we all marched to the left again toward the Thorn highway, in order not to run into the midst of the enemy near Königsberg. Indeed, it cost us enough exertion to get to Thorn before the Russians; with a delay of another two days, it would not have been possible.

On the way we met a column of Bavarians who were *en route* from Königsberg to the gathering place at Plock. They told us the news that the Württembergers, too, were gathering in Thorn and that the Germans all had permission to go home. This report strengthened my spirits again, since I had always thought that at the Vistula the army would take up its station and be reorganized and, therefore, that no one would get home or be discharged before another two years or so even if all should go well. I had been convinced of this by the enlisting in Poland.

Finally I came to Thorn; and my only silver ruble, which had escaped notice in my little watch pocket at the time I was plundered, was spent. Here I went to the town hall to obtain quarters, but could not get in on account of the mob. By chance a German soldier came along and said that on this street at a certain number there lived a commissioner from Württemberg and that he would give out passports and travel money. I presented myself immediately and obtained a five-franc thaler and

²⁴⁰ Cf. P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, part II, p. 182.

und erhielt einen 5. frankenthaler nebst einem Pass zu dem 3ten Transport nach Ober Atzlav,²⁴¹ ich war also einer von den lezt kommenden nach Thorn.

Selbige nacht legte ich mich in ein Hauss, und kaufte etwass Brod und Brandwein, dan an freyes Quatir war nicht zudenken, nicht schliefen konte man auf der Strasse bereits vor Menschen nicht. Morgens reisste ich dan früh über die Brike, und ich sahe mit Bewunderung, das die Stadt wehrend diesem Kriegsjahr zu einer bedeutenden Festung angelegt worden ist, jedoch nur mit Holzwänden und Sand um die hohe Wähle. Nun wurden die Kräften an mir immer schwächer und ich erreichte mit grosser Anstrengung die Stadt Atzlav. Hier erreichte ich den 3ten Transport unserer Leuthe, und meldete mich sogleich dem Komandeur, welcher fragte wo komt er her. von der Armee war meine Antwort, so bist du auch so ein Mosgauer Tippel entgegnete er mir wieder, dass war mein Gruss zum Empfang.²⁴²

Ich erhielt eine Armatur und musste selbige Nacht den Parg verwachen, diese Nacht in der Kälte auf neue auszuhalten verursachte mir das Fieber,²⁴³ den andern Tag zwingte er mich noch zufuss fortzukommen allein, gegen abend war es unmöglich, entweder auf dem Weg sterben oder in ein nächst ab der Strasse gesehenes Dorf zu gehen war nur für meine Wahl denkbar, ich entschloss mich also in das Dorf zugehen, und kam in eine Stube legte mich sogleich auf dem Boden wo mich dass Fieber graussam schüttelte, diese Leuthe wolten mir Schnaps und etwass zuessen geben, ich konte aber nichts als Wasser trünken, und wer mich Ansah machte für mich Hofnungslosse Geberden, ihre Gespräche hatte ich natürlich nicht verstanden, doch ihre Betauerniss vernahm ich deutlich. Des morgens nahm ich meine Krafte vollens zusammen, lies meine Armaturstücke schwächer haben ligen, und erst gegen abend langte ich in der 2 Stunden

²⁴¹ Inowrazlav, misinterpreted by the German writer as "Ober-Atzlav." See notes 30 and 286.

²⁴² Cf. Schwäb. Wb., II, 474: "Düppel dñl m. Drehkrankheit der Schafe; Schaf, das den Düppel hat, (Balingen, Ellwangen, Gmünd); verlorenes Schaf, das sich von der Herde getrennt hat; dummer Mensch wie Dackel, bald stärker, bald schwächer." Cf. also *ibid.*,

a pass for the third convoy to Inowrazlav. Hence I was one of the last to come to Thorn.

The same night I lodged in a house and bought some bread and wine, for free quarters were not to be thought of. One could scarcely creep along the streets on account of the throngs of people. Early in the morning I traveled across the bridge and saw with astonishment that the city during this year of war had been developed into an important fortress. However, they had used only wooden walls and sand around the high walls. I now grew weaker and weaker, and only with great exertion did I reach the city of [Inowr]azlav. Here I reached the third convoy of our people and presented myself immediately to the commander, who asked, "Where are you from?" "From the army," was my answer. "So you are also one of those Moscow bums," he retorted, and that was the welcome at my return.

I was given arms and had to guard the park that same night. Spending this night in the cold again gave me the fever. The next day I was even forced to continue my way on foot alone, but toward evening it became impossible. Either to die on the way or to go off to a village seen from the highway — that was my only choice. I decided then to go into the village. Here I went into a room and immediately lay down on the floor, where the fever shook me frightfully. The people there wanted to give me whiskey and something to eat, but I could drink nothing but water, and all those who looked at me made gestures of hopelessness. I naturally could not understand their conversation, but I could plainly feel their pity. In the morning I gathered together my last strength, left my arms behind because of my weak-

II, 222, 475, and V, 498 f.: "Der ist so dumm wie die, wo aus Russland kommen sind; i mein', der hab's Hirn au verfrört."

²⁴³ Cf. A. Rose, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 f.: "W. Ebstein (*Die Krankheiten im Feldzuge gegen Russland. Eine geschichtlichmedizinische Studie*. Stuttgart, 1902) has pointed out all that is obscure to us in the reports of the physicians of the Russian campaign; for instance, that we cannot distinguish what is meant by the different forms of fever. According to the views of those times fever was itself a disease *per se*; when reaction was predominating it was called synocha, typhus when weakness was the feature, and in case of a combination of synocha and typhus it was called synochus, a form in which there was at first an inflammatory and later on a typhoid stage, but which form could not be distinguished exactly from typhus."

entlegenen Stationstadt an, wo mein Transport schon wieder abmarschirt war, wolte ich nicht erst auf dass Biletamt um ein Quatier zu erhalten hingehen, sondern legte mich in einen Krug (Schenkhaus) in diesem Hauss waren auch 2. Westfähler Soldaten welche auch das Fieber im höchsten Grad hatten. Ich konte immer noch nichts Essen sondern nur Biertrinken welches ich da haben konte.

Den andern Tag kam ein Bürger von der Stadt auch dahin in den Krug und fragte wass uns dreyen fehle, er konte Teutsch sprechen, diesen antworteten wir, jeder habe dass Fieber, dass Fieber sagte er, davon kan ich helfen Dieses dat er auch wirklich, sezte sich hin, Schrieb 3. Zettel, und sagte, jeder solle nun eins davon essen, wie wirs essen wollen, ich wenigstens hatte wenig Glauben dass sowass helfen solle, jedoch hatte ich es auch gegessen, Und — als die Zeit komen solte an mir wieder Krausamm zuschitteln, wartete ich als länger und wirklich, nicht nur mich verliess dass Fieber, sondern zugleich die andere 2. Kameraden auch. Dieses kam uns allen wundersamm und auch Freudich vor, dankten diesem guten Mann ohne welchen gewiss keiner dem Tod entgangen were. Den andern Tag, als wir schon wieder etwass essen genüssen konten, erhielten wir von der Polizei einen Wagen, und ich erreichte vor der Stadt Posen den Transport wieder, jedoch zu laufen war ich künftig hin nicht mehr in Stande.

Der Marsch gieng dan fort über Posen gegen Krosno,²⁴⁴ die Kälte war imer noch ausserordentlich gross, und da ich nicht laufen konte, musste ich entsezlich verfrühren, auch nachts kamen wir in die elende Hitten, wo ein Gesunder zuthun hatte die Kälte und den Rauh in den Erdenstuben auszuhalten. Der Transport war 175. Mann stark, wovon aber jeden Tag einer oder zwey man Tod in das Quatier kammen, es hatte immer noch an Lebensmitteln gefehlt, un an Medizin war nicht zu denken. Obgleich das Aechzen und Schreien auf den Wägen ununterbrochen tauerte, und mehrere so hart Kranke von den noch bessern Leuthen vertruht wurden, da der Raum auf den

ness, and only toward evening did I arrive in the station-town two hours away, where I found my convoy had already marched off again. I did not want to go to the quartering office first to obtain lodging but lay down in a tavern where there were two Westphalian soldiers who also had the fever at its worst stage. I still could not eat anything but could only drink beer, which I could get there.

The next day a citizen of the town came to the inn, too, and asked what ailed us three. He could speak German. We answered him that each of us had the fever. "The fever?" said he. "I can help you get rid of that." This he really did, sitting down, writing three notes, and saying that each of us should now eat one of them. I, at least, had little faith that such a thing could help. Nevertheless, I ate mine, too; and, when the time came for me to be shaken frightfully again, I waited longer and longer, and actually the fever left not only me but also my other two comrades at the same time. This seemed miraculous and delightful to all of us, and we thanked this good man, without whom certainly none of us would have escaped death. The next day, when we could partake of something to eat again, we obtained a wagon from the police, and I reached the convoy again outside the city of Posen. However, I was no longer able to walk from then on.

The march went on then through Posen toward Crossen. The cold was still extraordinarily great; and, since I could not walk, I froze terribly. Also at night we came into the most miserable huts where even a healthy person had a hard time bearing the cold and the smoke in the rooms with their earthen floors. The convoy consisted of 175 men. However, one or two men of this number were brought dead to their lodgings every day. Our nourishment was still insufficient, and medicine was not to be hoped for. Although the groaning and shrieking on the wagons continued without interruption and several who were severely sick were crushed to death by the healthier people, since the

²⁴⁴ Crossen or Krossen, in Brandenburg, 32 miles SE. of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, at the confluence of the Bober with the Oder.

Wägen zu klein war, so war dass Gefühl für Hilfe noch ganz Stummpf.

Als ich durch Posen kam, traf ich einen Man von meiner Compagnie (dan bei den 175. Man war nicht einer von meinem Regiment, noch weniger ein Bekanter) als wir einander Kanten, Küssten wir einander vor Freuden, und die Tränen flossen jeden herunter, indem jeder sagte aus Mosgau marschirten wir unsere 5. Gemeine werden wür wohl noch die 2. letzten sein! Dieses rührte uns wie gesagt zu Tränen, dieser Man von meiner Compagnie wahr früher so unbekant für mich, dass ich den Namen nicht mehr weis. Als ich weiter musste sagte er, er seye gesund und gehe gerade nach Hauss, und nicht dem Kranken Transport, wass ihm nach Erfahrung zu Hausse auch gelungen ist, Ich hatte ihn gebetten wen er nach Hausse komme soll er doch über Ellwangen²⁴⁵ gehen und meinen Freunden die Nachricht geben das Sie für mein Wiederkommen ganz versichert sein türfen, indem ich gesund nach Hauss eile und bald ankommen werde.

Es war aber noch 250. Stunden nach Hauss wass mein Heimkomen noch immer unsicher machte, jedoch die Hofnung stärkte mich immer. So kam ich endlich nach Grossno, Thorgau, u Leipzig, in welcher Gegend wieder Teutsches Leben anfieng, und wegen ordentlichen Essen u: warmen Stuben meine Kräften etwass zunahmen. In Leipzig besonders hatte ich ein gutes Quatier, und allenthalben war Mitleid und ordentliche Pflege für uns, jeder Faste auch ein neues Hempt, und die welche am besten laufen konten auch Schu, ich aber fasste nur ein Hempt. Dieses Hempt war schönes weis gemangtes Tuch, jedoch nicht ganz frey von kleinen Ageln, und erst bei Blauen,²⁴⁶ versuchte ich es anzuzihen. In diesen Quatier zog ich mein altes Hempt aus legte es in den Warmen Stuben Ofen auf einige scheitlein Holz, um meine Missithäter zu ermorden. Als ich aber wieder darnach schaute, zog ich nur noch den Hemptärmel heraus, und alles ander war verbrändt. Nun wass ist anderst zu thun als mein Neues Hempt anzuzihen, ich propierte zog es an legte mich

²⁴⁵ Ellwangen, Walter's home town, on the river Jagst, 45 miles ENE. of Stuttgart.

space on the wagons was too small, nevertheless the impulse to help one another was still quite dulled.

As I went through Posen, I met a man from my company — among the 175 men, there was not one from my regiment, much less an acquaintance. When we recognized one another, we kissed each other for joy, and tears flowed down as each one said, "There were five of us common soldiers when we marched out of Moscow; likely we are the last two of these left." This moved us to tears, as I said. This man from my company had been so unfamiliar to me before that I do not even know his name now. When I had to go on, he said that he was well and was just going home but not with the convoy of the sick. I learned at home that he succeeded in doing this. I had asked him, when he went home, to go through Ellwangen and give my friends the news that they could be quite certain of my return, since I was hurrying home in good health and would soon arrive.

It was still 250 leagues home; so my homecoming was still uncertain. Nevertheless, hope strengthened me always; so I finally came to Crossen, Torgau, and Leipsic, in which region German life began again, and because of decent eating and warm rooms my strength increased somewhat. In Leipsic especially I had good quarters, and everywhere there was sympathy and decent care for us. Each of us also obtained a new shirt, and those who could walk the best also got shoes, but I obtained only a shirt. This shirt was of fine white-mangled cloth, yet it was not quite free from little shives, and not until I came to Plauen did I try to put it on. In my quarters there I took off my old shirt and laid it in the warm stove upon a few small pieces of wood in order to murder my evildoers; but, when I looked at it again, I pulled out only the shirt-sleeve: all the rest had been burned. Now what else could I do but put on my new shirt? I tried it, put it on and lay down in it, but the shives

²⁴⁶ The spelling renders the Swabian dialect pronunciation of the name of Plauen, 61 miles SW. of Leipsic. Walter may have wrongly associated it with the German adjective *blau*.

mit hin, aber die Ageln Krazten mich so, dass ich ohne Hempt in meine Kleiter schlief, und bei der Wirthen ein Weibsbildes für dass neue eintauschte.

In selbiger Nach erfahrte ich auch dass zwey Brüder Bey unserm Transport weren von Bernlohof²⁴⁷ von der Kranatier Compagnie,²⁴⁸ Regiment Kronprinz, wovon einer heute nach gestorben seye, dieser so seltsamme Zufall, dass zwey Brüder bis in die Heimgasse²⁴⁹ durch Unterstützung, brachten, und jetzt erst noch durch den Tod des Einen getrennt worden sind, ist gewiss rührend, um somehr für solchen der sich seines eigenen Bruders zu erinnern hat, wie ich auch an den Meinigen.—

So gieng der Marsch über Bareith, Nürnberg Anschbach und Dünkelspühl,²⁵⁰ allenthalben würden wir ungescheut in Städten und Dörfern einquatiert, auch auf die Wägen wurde uns Geschenk gegeben, besonders in Dünkelspühl.

Endlich kam ich den 24. Febr. 1813. mit meiner ausserordentlichen Uniform hier an.²⁵¹ Schon lange freute ich mich auf meine Ankunft zu Hause, wie näher ich aber kam, wie mehr Klopfte mein Herz vor Erwartung meiner Freunde, ich wäre gerne zur Nachtszeit angekommen, es musste aber bei Tag Abends gegen 3. Uhr sein.

Dieser Transport hatte an 175. Man von Atzlav hierher 100. Tode zurückgelassen, und 75. Man auf wenigen Wägen erreichten die Gränze. Da man hier schon von Ankunft eines 3ten Theils von der Würtembergischen Armee wusste, so eilte mein Bruder und mein Schwager, Herr Wagner, bis gegen Rettstadt entgegen,²⁵² wo nicht mich zu trefen, doch nach mir zufragen. Auf einmal sahe ich meinen Schwager u: meinen Bruder, sie hätten mich in meinen Aussehen freylich nicht erkant, ich aber rufte, streckte die Hand aus und grüsste Sie, Sie sprangen vor Freuden in die Höche, drückten mir die Hände, und die Herzen nur konten fühlen, das Reden aber unterbrach. O möchten alle Menschen

²⁴⁷ Bernlohof (Berlohhöfe), a few farms, about 10 miles S. of Ellwangen.

²⁴⁸ This spelling of Grenadier reflects the pronunciation still current in Ellwangen according to the *Oberamtsbeschreibung Ellwangen*, p. 186. Cf. also Schwäb. Wb., III, 89, and E. C. Roedder, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

²⁴⁹ A rather unusual expression, for which one occurrence is listed in Schwäb. Wb.,

irritated me so much that I slipped into my clothes without it and exchanged it at my landlady's for a woman's shirt.

During the same night, I also learned there were in our convoy two brothers from Bernlohnhof. These were of the Grenadier Company in the regiment of the Crown Prince, and one of them had died that very night. This strange chance, that two brothers who had brought themselves as far as the home stretch by supporting each other should now be separated by the death of one, is surely moving, more so for him who has a brother of his own to remember as I had.

Then the march went through Bayreuth, Nuremberg, Ansbach, and Dinkelsbühl. Everywhere we were quartered without hesitation in towns and villages. Gifts also were given us on the wagons, especially in Dinkelsbühl.

Finally, on February 24, 1813, I arrived here [at Ellwangen] with my extraordinary uniform. For such a long time I had been looking forward to my arrival at home; but, the closer I came, the more my heart pounded at the thought of seeing my friends. I would rather have arrived at nighttime; but it had to be by day, toward three o'clock in the afternoon.

My convoy from [Inowr]azlav to here had left behind 100 dead out of 175 men, and 75 men on a few wagons reached the border. Since people here already knew of the arrival of a third part of the Württemberg army, my brother and my brother-in-law, Herr Wagner, hurried toward Rettstadt to ask about me if they should not meet me. All at once I saw my brother-in-law and my brother. They would not have recognized me, of course, as I looked then; but I called, thrust out my hand, and greeted them. They jumped into the air for joy and pressed my hands, and our hearts alone could feel, for we could not speak. Oh,

III, 1371: "Bei uns zu Haus, nicht über See."

²⁵⁰ The spelling Bareith is based on dialect pronunciation, and so is Ansbach for Ansbach, 25 miles SW. of Nuremberg; Dünkelspühl stands for Dinkelsbühl.

²⁵¹ Hier, i.e., at Ellwangen, where Walter spent the rest of his life and where he wrote down his recollections. See pp. 188 f. Of the 15,800 Württemberg troops, only 300 returned.

²⁵² Rettstadt, a small town, about 3 miles E. of Ellwangen, on the highway which connects Dinkelsbühl with Ellwangen.

wissen, wie Hoh geschwistert und gute Freunds-Liebe, durch so zufälliges Wiedersehen gesteigert werden kan! Himlische Freude, Allweisse Vorsehung Gottes, und zugleich Wunder der Natur ist darin fühlbar. —

Es sprang also gleich mein Herr Schwager mit gewaltsamen Schritten der Stadt zu, und kündete mein Ankommen allenthalben an. Ich hielt also meinen Einzug mit einen rusigen ruschischen Mandel, alten runden Huth, und unter meiner u: in meiner Kleitung unzähligen Reissgefärthen, worunter Russen, Polen Preisen u: Saxen waren,²⁵³ Bei meinen so guten Freunden des Kannenwirths stig ich ab, jedes wolte mich herunter höben und führen, und alles sahe mich für schwächer an als ich wirklich war. Ich hielt mich aber kaum einige Minutten in der Stube auf, als ich auf dem Heuboden meine Kleiter abnahm, die neue mir schon zubereitete anzog mich waschte, und dan erst wieder taugte ich unter die reinliche Gesellschaft.

Nun hatte ich auch meine liebe Schwestern zu erwarten die erst den andern Tag von Rosenberg hereinkamen.²⁵⁴ und das Ziehl der 2ten Freude ausmachten, diese Herzliche Freude des Wiedersehen flamte göttlich im inern der Geschwistertliebe, und es wurde jezt auch erfüllt der Wunsch, worüber Sie schon so viele Tränen geweint, und für mich so oft zu Gott gebettet haben.

Den andern Tag, als am Gompendonnerstag,²⁵⁵ wurde Rasttag gemacht, und zwar auf verlangen des Kanenwirths²⁵⁶ die bei dem Stadtkomandanten Alberti, welcher oft dahin kam, bewirkt hatten. Jezt hatte ich gut Essen u: Trünken, aber der Magen konte noch manches nicht ertragen, ich musste immerhin mich recht in obacht nehmen. Als wir am 3ten Tag wieder abgefahren waren kamen wir abends nach Schordorf,²⁵⁷ und wurden in ein Hauss zusammen gesperrt, damit durch uns keine Krankheit verbreitet werden solte, dan Allgemein wurden wir im Würtembergischen wie Aussezige gescheucht.

²⁵³ See notes 118, 170, and 237.

²⁵⁴ Rosenberg, a small town, 7 miles NW. of Ellwangen.

²⁵⁵ Thursday before Shrovetide. Cf. Schwab. W'b., III, 924: "gumpig 'springend, hüpfend,' gumpisch 'lustig, sehr beweglich.'" There the form Gompendonnerstag is listed as typical of the region around Ellwangen.

that all people might know how high the love of friends and relatives can mount through such a chance meeting! One feels in it heavenly joy, the all-wise providence of God, and at the same time the miracle of nature.

So my brother-in-law ran at once with powerful strides toward the town and announced my arrival to everyone. Thus I made my entrance with a sooty Russian coat, an old round hat, and, under and in my clothing, countless traveling companions, among which were Russians, Poles, Prussians, and Saxons. I stopped off at my very good friend's, the *Kannenwirth's*. Everyone wanted to lift me down and lead me, and everyone regarded me as weaker than I really was. However, I stayed only a few minutes in the room before I took off my clothes in the haymow, put on the new ones already provided for me, and washed myself. Only then was I fit for clean company.

Now I also awaited my dear sisters, who did not come in from Rosenberg until the following day and were another object of joy. The sincere joy of meeting again kindled the love of kindred as a divine flame, and now the wish was fulfilled for which they had shed so many tears and had so often prayed to God.

The next day, on Shrove Thursday, a rest day was observed upon the request of the *Kannenwirth*; he brought it about through the city commandant, Alberti, who often came to the tavern. I now had good eating and drinking, but my stomach could not stand many things as yet. I had to be quite careful all the time. On the third day, when we had driven on again, we came to Schorndorf in the evening and were shut into a house together so that we should spread no sickness, for everywhere in Württemberg we were shunned like lepers.

²⁵⁶ The *Kannenwirt*, i.e., *Hofwerkmeister Häfele*, with whom Walter stayed between the years 1809 and 1812. Ignati Häfele, innkeeper and master mason, owned the tavern called *Kanne* ("pitcher" or "jug") in Ellwangen from about 1778 to 1835. The inn is still in existence. Walter's parents must have died when he was a child, since he never mentions them, not even in connection with his return from Russia, when the entire family gathered to welcome him. See Introduction and note 378.

²⁵⁷ A different spelling of Schorndorf. See note 2.

Als wir nach Waiblingen kamen²⁵⁸ wurde der Transport vertheilt, und die welche der Gesundheit nächer waren kamen nach Waldenbuch²⁵⁹ wormit ich auch kam, und die mindergesunde nach Fahingen an der Enz.²⁶⁰ Nach Verfluss 14. Tagen wurde ich als Rekontfalizent nach dem Asberg²⁶¹ Abgetheilt, und den damat dortligenden Scharfschizen einverleibt, mit welchen ich einigemal ausrückte. Es tauerte aber kaum 4. Tage, so schittelte mich das Fieber etwass, konte aber nicht in Ausbruch kommen, und es stellte sich eine Hitze ein und das Bluten aus der Nase nahm so überhand, dass mihr mehrere Täge lang alle 5 — 6 Minutten ein nases Tuch um Kopf und Halz gelegt, und das Bett statt dem ligen, zum Sizen gerichtet wurde, vor Ueberhandnehmung meiner Krankheit wurde ich von dem Generalarmmearzt über meinen Körperlichen zustand vernommen und es wurde mir der Abschied, wegen meinem in der Gefangennehmung verstorbenem Arm welcher in dem Achselbein etwass vertreht und buxirt worden ist, zugeschrieben, zugleich auch der Infalllittengehalt angesagt.²⁶²

Als ich bereits so schwach geworden bin das ich Fantasierte, und jeder an meinem Wieder aufkommen zweifelte, so wurde ich auf einem Wagen mit mehrern Russländern aufgeladen, und nach Fahingen geführt.²⁶⁰ Ich war nun so schwach, das man mich hinauf und herunter vom Wagen höben musste, und konte nichts mehr genüssen als wasser Trünken. Ich kam auch in Vahingen gleich in das Zimmer gelegt wo alle hinkamen die dem Tode nahe waren. Es blieb kein Medizin noch Essen bei mir, jedoch hatte dass Bluten aufgehert.

Endlich nach Verfluss 8 — 9. Tagen glüstete es mich einen Essig, und ich schüttete an etwas Suppe davon. Diese etliche Löfelvollsuppe blieb bei mir, und jezt vermehrte sich der Lust nach Esig und Salat, und auch der Salat blieb bei mir, wass ich aber in Geheim vor dem Arzt thun musste, So stieg von Zeit zu Zeit mein Abeditt, dass ich heimlich Kartoffelsalat, Lautern Esig,

²⁵⁸ Waiblingen, 7 miles NE. of Stuttgart.

²⁵⁹ Waldenbuch, 10 miles SSW. of Stuttgart in the so-called Schönbuch.

²⁶⁰ Vaihingen an der Enz, 15 miles NW. of Stuttgart.

²⁶¹ Asperg or Asberg, 8 miles N. of Stuttgart, with the old castle of Hohen-Asperg,

When we came to Waiblingen, the transport was divided, and those who were in better health, of whom I was one, went to Waldenbuch; those whose health was worse went to Vaihingen-on-the-Enz. After a fortnight I was commissioned off as a convalescent to Asperg and was incorporated into the sharpshooters who were stationed there then, and I marched out several times with them. Barely four days had gone by, however, before the fever shook me again, although it did not break out. I ran a high temperature; and my nosebleed grew so bad that for several days a wet cloth had to be put around my head and neck every five or six minutes and the bed had to be arranged for sitting up instead of lying down; but, since my illness got worse, I was examined by the general army physician as to my physical condition, and leave was granted to me on account of my arm which had been hurt at the time of my capture, having been wrenched somewhat in the shoulder blade and reset. At the same time an invalid pension was also promised me.

When I had grown so weak that I became delirious and everyone doubted that I would recover, I was loaded upon a wagon with several "Russians" and driven to Vaihingen. I was now so weak that I had to be lifted into and off the wagon and I could take nothing any more but drinking water. In Vaihingen I was laid immediately in the room where all were brought who were near death. No medicine or food would stay with me. However, the bleeding had stopped.

Finally, after eight or nine days had passed, I longed for vinegar, and I poured some of it into my soup. These few spoonfuls of soup stayed with me, and now my desire increased for vinegar and lettuce. The lettuce also stayed with me, although I had to take it secretly without the doctor's knowing about it. My appetite gradually rose so that I had potato salad, pure vinegar, pork, potatoes and cabbage, and cooked meat from

well known from the days of Chr. Fr. Dan. Schubart and Schiller.

²⁶² Misspelling of *Invalidegehalt*, which Walter associated with *Unfall* and the principle of *leiden*. Cf. K. Roos, *Die Fremdwörter in den Elsässischen Mundarten* (Diss. Strassburg, 1903), p. 74: "invalidité - Unfalitet (Unfall). Der I., because *Gehalt* is always masculine in Swabian dialect. Cf. *Schwäb. Wb.*, III, 185.

Schweinfleisch Kartoffel und Krauth, von dem Mezger gekochtes holen liess, und dan keine Medizin mehr einnahm, Nichts andern konte ich die Schuld zur Genesung zurechnen, als dem Verbluten, wodurch das vertorbene Geblüt von mir kam, und dem Esig welcher die im Leibe angewachsen Kruste abwaschte und reinigte und wieder den Abeditt beförderte.

Als meine Geschwistert und Freunde meine Krankheit erfahren haben, Laufte meine kleine oder jüngere Schwester im grosser Bangigkeit mich zu besuchen, und in 2tagen machte Sie den Weeg von 30. Stunden. Alle Kranke waren in dem Schloss,²⁶³ und der Zutritt von Vatter und Mutter war durch die Wache verschlossen, alles musste, ohne mit ihren Söhnen sprechen zu türfen wieder fortgehen, dieses war meiner Schwester ein Schmerz, den Sie nicht genug beweinen konte. Doch Zufall u: Klik²⁶⁴ machte unser Zusammentreffen Heimlich möglich, da meine Schwester die Zeit abwartete, biss Scharfschiz Seybold von Hohenberg²⁶⁵ auf den äussersten Thorposten kam, welcher zugab das Sie links an der Schlossmauer sprechen darf. Seybold schikte heimlich, und lies mir sagen herauszukommen, und als ich meine Schwester und sie mich Sahe, brauchte Sie lange biss dass Weinen ihr zu Reden erlaubte, meine Aussicht²⁶⁶ hatte sie gewaltig erschreckt da ich Todbleich war, mein Mandel voll von Blut und meine Stimme so tief und schwach, doch als ich sagte, ich fühle mich auser der Gefahr, indem ich bereits gesund mich glaube und alles Essen köne, hatte sie sich etwass getröstet, der Schrecken aber mich nicht sprechen zu türfen hatte Sie bereits kränker gemacht als ich mich Krank glaubte. So verweilten wir als liebende Geschwistert eine Stunde lang, und Sieden dan mit Thränen wieder.

Unter einer Zeit noch von 14. Tagen hatte ich das Reissen in den Fusssohlen, so wie das Kopfweh gewaltig stark, und dennoch nahm ich die Mixtur nicht ein, und sagte dem Arzt immer ich seie jezt gesund, er glaubte mir aber nicht, sondern sagte, ich müsse das Kopfweh und Reissen in den Füßen haben worzu ich aber ihm nur in Gedanken recht gab.

²⁶³ The sanatorium had been established in the castle near Vaihingen-on-the-Enz.

the butcher brought to me secretly, and then I took no more medicine. I could attribute my recovery to nothing else than the bleeding, by which the corrupted blood came from me, and to the vinegar, which washed off the encrusted lining in my body, cleaned my blood, and encouraged my appetite again.

When my relatives and friends heard of my illness, my little or younger sister, greatly worried, came to visit me, in two days traveling thirty hours. All the sick were in the castle, and the fathers and mothers were kept from entering by the guard. All of them had to go away again without being permitted to speak with their sons. This caused my sister great pain, and she could not weep enough about it; yet chance and luck made a secret meeting possible, for my sister waited until the time when Sharpshooter Seybold from Hohenberg came to the post at the outer gate. He gave her permission to speak to me near the castle wall at the left and sent secretly and had someone ask me to come out. When I saw my sister and she saw me, it took a long time for her to stop weeping and to speak. My appearance had frightened her terribly, for I was deathly pale, my coat was full of blood, and my voice, deep and weak; but, when I said that I thought myself out of danger, since I felt almost well and could eat everything, she was somewhat comforted. However, the fear that she might not be allowed to speak with me had made her almost more ill than I thought myself to be. Thus we tarried as loving brother and sister for an hour's time and then parted again with tears.

During a period of two weeks I still had violent attacks of gout in the soles of my feet as well as a strong headache, and yet I did not take the medicine but always told the physician that I was well now. However, he did not believe me but said that I must have a headache and gout in my feet, in which I agreed with him, but only in my thoughts.

²⁶⁴ Since there is no difference between *gl* and *kl* in Swabian dialect pronunciation or between *i* and *ü*, NHG *Glück* can be rendered *Klik*.

²⁶⁵ Hohenberg, a village 5 miles NW. of Ellwangen.

²⁶⁶ *Aussicht*, which in standard High German always means "view, prospect," in Swabian dialect is used occasionally in the sense of "appearance." Cf. *Schwäb. Wb.*, I, 521.

Endlich wurde ich mit etwa mit 70. Man als Rekonfalizent wieder nach Waltenbuch in das Erholungs Spital gebracht, und in einem Dorf unterwegs einquatiert, jedoch aus Forcht²⁶⁷ vor dem Nervenfieber, mussten alle in das Rathaus, und solten nicht ausgehen. Dieses kam uns hart an, immer als Aussezige behandelt zu werden, wir gängen also in die Würthshäusser und machten uns etwass lustig, es tauerte aber eine kurze Zeit, als die Bürger mit Sturmleuthen, und nach Stuttgart um Millitär zu holen, uns bestürmmen wolten, wen wir nicht gleich wieder auf das Rathaus gehen wolten, Es blieb nichts übrig als nachzugeben, und die Verachtung als Lohn zu empfangen.

In dem Schlosswaldenbuch²⁶⁸ kam ich dan wieder so ziemlich zu Kräften indem ich mir Kaufte was ich neben meiner Kost noch wolte, schrieb dan auch einen Brief an den Leutenant Stimmer auf dem Aschberg,²⁶⁹ das er zu meinem versprochenen Abschied mir behülflich sein möchte, dieses geschah auch, indem der Hauptmann im Spital mir sagte, wen ich gehen wolle, so könne ich meinen Abschied bei Herrn Stimmer abholen.

Sogleich gieng ich über Stutgart und dem Asberg zu, als ich aber im ersten Ort gengen Ludwigsburg zu kam,²⁷⁰ so bekam ich auf einmal schmerzen in meinem Fuss, so dass ich an einer Viertelstunde, eine Stunde biss in dass Orth zu laufen hatte, mehrere Leuthe die mich sahen, und erkanten als einen Russländer, so nante man damals jeden der darinnen war, gaben mir Geschenke. Endlich kam ich in das Schulzenhaus, und bekam ein Fuhrwerk nach dem Asberg. Ich erhielt meinen Abschied, lis mich nach Hausse führen wo ich dan in Bälte ganz gesund und wolauf geworden bin.

²⁶⁷ Forcht with o instead of u in Franconian dialect. See notes 196 and 318.

²⁶⁸ See note 259.

Finally, I was again brought as a convalescent with about 70 men to Waldenbuch to the convalescent hospital and was quartered on the way in a village, but because of the fear of the nervous fever we all had to go to the town hall and were not supposed to go out. This was hard on us, always to be treated like lepers. We went, therefore, into the inns and had some fun. It did not last long, though, until the citizens wanted to storm us, with alarms ringing and with the threat of bringing the militia from Stuttgart if we would not go back to the town hall at once. There was nothing left but to give in and to accept scorn as our reward.

At Waldenbuch Castle I more or less got my strength back, since I bought what I wanted in addition to my regular diet. Then I wrote a letter to Lieutenant Stimmer at Asperg, asking him to help me in getting my promised discharge. This was done, too, since the colonel in the hospital told me that if I wanted to go I could call for my discharge from Herr Stimmer.

At once I went through Stuttgart and toward Asperg; but, as I came to the first village in the direction of Ludwigsburg, I suddenly got such a pain in my foot that I had to walk an hour instead of a quarter hour to get to the village. Several people who saw me and recognized me as a "Russian" — as everyone who had been there was called at that time — gave me presents. Finally I came to the mayor's house and was given a conveyance to Asperg. I obtained my discharge and had myself driven home, where I then in a short time became entirely healthy and well.

²⁶⁹ This spelling reflects the Swabian dialect pronunciation. See note 261.

²⁷⁰ Ludwigsburg, a city 9 miles N. of Stuttgart. See note 272.

Im Jahr 1806. wurde ich mit vielen meiner Kamuraden durch die damalige Konscription zum Militär ausgehoben und dem Regiment von Romich, was nachhero den Namen Frankenmond und No. 4. erhalten hatte,²⁷¹ zugeteilt, welches in Garnison Ludwigsburg war.²⁷² Im Herbst²⁷³ reisste ich mit dem Regiment nach Preisen²⁷⁴ dem damaligen Feldzug welchen Keiser Napoleon mit denen damaligen Verbundenen Fürsten²⁷⁵ gegen Breisen führte, im Herbst marschierten wir über Ellwangen, Nürnberg, Anspach, Bareith, Blauen, Tresden in Sachsen,²⁷⁶ sodann über Bunzlau und in Grossglogau in Schlesien ein,²⁷⁷ woselbst wir gegen 3. Wochen in Besatzungsstand belegt blieben.

Unter einer Zeit von Monat Januar biss Monat Merz hatte ich mit der Hälfte des Regiments mehrere Transporte mit gefangenen Breisen mit zu seyn, namentlich von Glogau zurück über Grossen Frankfurt an der Oder und Tresden daselbst wurden wir abgelöst²⁷⁸ und hatten allenthalben gute Quartiere was damals ungeachtet dem immerwehrenden Marschiren mich gesund und lustig erhalten hatte, und noch mehr da ich ein

* This headline is not in the MS.

²⁷¹ By a Württemberg conscription ordinance, enacted on August 6, 1806, infantry conscripts were to be at least 5 feet 7 inches tall and between 18 and 26 years old, and must serve 8 years. The Ellwangen district was the center for an infantry unit which by old custom bore the name of its proprietary commander. This was the musketry battalion von Beulwitz, which in May, 1804, had taken the name of its colonel Heinrich Eberhard von Romig. But General von Romig in 1807 became vice-president of the War College, and thereafter the regiment was enlarged by a second battalion and assigned in June, 1808, to General von Franquemont, whose name it bore until May, 1811, when an order requiring the use of numbers rather than names changed its designation to No. 4, Infantry Line Regiment. Cf. A. Pfister, *Württ. Kriegsgeschichte*, pp. 332, 334, 336-338, 358, 381. See also note 339.

²⁷² Ludwigsburg, 9 miles N. of Stuttgart; in Swabian dialect pronunciation there is no distinction made between g and k (except in the initial position before vowels). See note 270.

²⁷³ On September 27, 1806, King Frederick of Württemberg ordered the mobilization of all his troops except the Guards and the Romig Regiment, the concentration point to be Ellwangen. From there the main contingent of 8225 men marched on October 14 (the date of the battles of Jena and Auerstädt) across Bavaria toward Hof and Dresden. Having reached Dresden on November 3, they proceeded to Crossen, Lower Silesia, arriving there on November 8. Meanwhile 3000 reserves were being raised, which were dispatched on December 2 under Major General von Romig and arrived at Glogau on January 1, 1807, with a loss of 343 men by desertion en route. Among these reserves was the Romig Regiment of some 800 men at the outset and with about 730 when it arrived at Glogau. Two companies of the regiment were called about January 20 to the

[CAMPAIGN OF 1806 AND 1807]

In the year 1806, I was drafted with many of my comrades into military service in the conscription at that time and was assigned to the regiment of Romig, which afterwards was given the name of Franquemont and of Number 4 and which was in the Ludwigsburg garrison. In the fall I traveled with the regiment to Prussia in the campaign which Emperor Napoleon with the princes, then his allies, was conducting at that time against Prussia. In the fall we marched through Ellwangen, Nuremberg, Ansbach, Bayreuth, Plauen, Dresden in Saxony, then through Bunzlau into Grossglogau in Silesia, where we remained in garrison for about three weeks.

During a period from the month of January to the month of March, I had to go with half of the regiment to accompany several convoys of captured Prussians from Glogau back through Crossen, Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and Dresden, where we were relieved. We were given good quarters everywhere, which kept me always healthy and cheerful in spite of the continuous marching. Furthermore, I was only nineteen years old, a fact which

siege of Schweidnitz, the other two companies remaining at Glogau under Major von Mosheim, until the regiment was reunited on March 18 at the Württemberg headquarters on the Neisse. Cf. A. Pfister, *Württ. Kriegsgeschichte*, pp. 339, 344 f., 347, and Jérôme, *Mémoires et correspondance du roi Jérôme et le reine Catherine* (Paris, 1861-1866), II, 23, 67, 73, 128.

²⁷⁴ Phonetic spelling of the name of Preussen according to Swabian dialect pronunciation.

²⁷⁵ Württemberg, Bavaria, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, and twelve other states, which formed the Confederation of the Rhine (after July 19, 1806).

²⁷⁶ Ellwangen-on-the-Jagst, 45 miles ENE. of Stuttgart; Ansbach (or Anspach), 25 miles SW. of Nuremberg; the spelling of Bareith renders the dialect pronunciation, and so does Blauen, i.e., Plauen, 61 miles SW. of Leipsic. On the other hand, Walter in his endeavor to avoid dialect spellings at times goes too far, as in *Tresden* for Dresden.

²⁷⁷ Bunzlau in Silesia, 24 miles WNW. of Liegnitz, near the Bober; Grossglogau in Silesia, a strongly fortified town on the left bank of the Oder, 35 miles NNW. of Liegnitz. Grossen, which follows in the German text below, stands for Crossen, 32 miles SE. of Frankfort-on-the-Oder.

²⁷⁸ Though details of Walter's Glogau anecdotes do not agree with our data, they do have a factual basis. Various convoys of prisoners were sent from Silesia to Mainz, mainly via Saxony. They were sent to Dresden after Schweidnitz fell on February 16, with a Württemberg escort of the Seckendorff regiment. At that time and later Bunzlau, a key point on the main route to Dresden near the Saxon-Silesian border, was menaced by activities of local spies and partisans. There was no actual siege by Prussians, but some detachments of Württemberg and Bavarian light cavalry and some infantry were sent to

alter im 19ten Jahre hatte²⁷⁹ was auch öfters eine Mittheinstimmung²⁸⁰ leichtsinniger und gefährlicher Unternehmung verursachte. Nach wieder Zurikkunft gegen Glogau wurde der Transport samt einen Bairischen Cohr in Bundslau von dennen Preisen eingeschnrenkt²⁸¹ woselbst dann von uns alle Thor gesperrt und die Spieonen aufgefangt wurden.²⁸²

In dieser Stadt begab es sich in meinen Quartier das ein Kamurat den Hauswirth nötigen wolte zum Singen, was aber derselbe die ganze nacht auf dem Ofenbanksizend mit weinen entgegnet hatte, da dieser Mann nicht wegen Traurigkeit Singen konte so wolte der Soldat Hummel ihn beängstigen, nahm seyn Gewehr, spante den Hanen, und ging loss, die Kugel war an meiner u: einem andern Soldaten Seite vorbei und blieb in der Wand eingegangen, dieses wolte ich anführen um die damals verwildete Soldaten darzustellen.

Auf die Hauptwacht wurde ein Spion gebracht der ein Schmid von einem Dorfe war. Dieser hatte Briefe u: Aufträge unsere Stärke an Manschaft dennen Breisen zurikzusagen, solcher wurde auf eine Schranne gelegt, durch 2 u: 3. Korpölale geprigelt, so das 2. mann an Füßen und 2. am Kopfe zu heben hatten,²⁸³ die Lederhosen wurden angespant, wasser darauf geschütt, u: so musste er biss gegen 150 Brigel aushalten, am Ende aber konte er als halb Tod nicht mer lautgeben, zu jedem Streich sprach Leutinant dem Schmid, das ist ein Baierischer Thaler, das ist ein Württenbergischer Thaler u: worzu Leutinant durchaus lachen konte, nach Erfahrung wurde dieser Schmid nach der Trascher gebracht²⁸⁴ u: erschossen, u: so in dieser Stadt auch mehrere unschuldig mit Stockstreich beladen.

Da nun die an der Stadt liggende Preusen keinen Muth mehr hatten zogen selbe ab und wir wieder nach Glogau ein.

keep the roads safe. They were also to protect the Breslau-Glogau-Crossen route leading to Torgau or Frankfurt-on-the-Oder. In dealing with suspected natives these patrol units evidently did "run wild," according to official statements of Jérôme Bonaparte, Vandamme, General von Seckendorff, and others. General Kammrer, who superseded Seckendorff, began to check such excesses on his arrival by having a Württemberg trooper who was guilty of shooting in connection with robbing a parsonage taken to the spot and shot in the presence of representatives of all regiments. So Walter's anecdotes seem quite

caused me frequently to participate in thoughtless and dangerous enterprises. During our return to Glogau the convoy, together with a Bavarian corps, was surrounded by Prussians in Bunzlau. We then closed all the gates and caught the spies.

In this city it happened in my quarter that a comrade wanted to force the landlord to sing. However, he refused to do so, sitting the whole night on a bench near the stove weeping. Since this man could not sing because of his sorrow, Soldier Hummel wanted to frighten him, took his rifle, cocked the hammer, and shot. The bullet passed by me and another soldier and lodged in the wall. I wanted to mention this in order to show how the soldiers were running wild at that time.

A spy who was a village smith was brought before the main watch. He had letters and orders to tell the Prussians of our strength in man power. He was laid on a bench and whipped by two or three corporals. Two men had to hold his feet and two his head. His leather breeches were stretched out and water poured on them, and then he received about one hundred and fifty blows. At last he could no longer speak, because he was half dead. At every blow the lieutenant said to the smith, "This is a Bavarian thaler; this is a Württemberg thaler," at which the lieutenant was really able to laugh. After this experience the smith was taken to the threshing floor[?] and shot. Blows with clubs also were heaped upon many innocent people in this city.

When the Prussians who were laying siege to the city lost their courage, they withdrew, and we entered Glogau again.

plausible. Cf. Jérôme's *Mémoires*, II, 216, 230, 287-295, 393, 452, 521; A. Pfister, *Württ. Kriegsgeschichte*, pp. 345 ff.

²⁷⁹ Walter means "in his nineteenth year," evidently, as he was born in May (or September), 1788. See p. 186.

²⁸⁰ Phonetic spelling of *Miteinstimmung*, "consent, participation," according to the dialect pronunciation.

²⁸¹ *Denen* or *dennen*, instead of *den*, is frequently used in Swabian dialect, in the sense of *diesen* or *jenen*. — *Einschränken*, i.e., *einschliessen*, "to surround."

²⁸² Nothing has been found that would refer to a siege of Bunzlau. For not until May was the situation there really serious. Cf. Jérôme's *Mémoires*, II, 521 (May 10).

²⁸³ *Heben* in the sense of *halten* is typical of the Swabian dialect, *Schwäb. Wb.* III, 1306 ff.

²⁸⁴ The meaning of this word is not quite clear.

Nachdem ich ein Tag in Glogau angekommen wahr musste ich mit einem Teil von Regiment 19. Geldwägen nach der Grossen Armee Transportieren,²⁸⁵ diese Geldwägen waren vier-spännig auch sechsspännig wesentwegen täglich viele versanken im Koth. Dieser Marsch gieng über Bresslau, sodan über die Polnische Gränze nach Kalisch, Bossen, Gnissen, Atzlaf und Thorn an der Weichsel²⁸⁶ und dorten wurde der Transport übergeben. Von dorten mussten wir zurick nach Kniesen einer ortentlichen Stadt in Polen,²⁸⁷ da hatten wir ein Magazin zu verwachen und mussten bey einem hellen Feuer in einem Zimmer die Wacht halten, in diesem Hause war eine Frau von polnischen Militär welche mir so viel ich nöthig hatte mehreres Polnisches Sprechen lernte, auch hatten wir da inderhalb 14. Tagen gross erfrihren da an die Füsse keine Wärme kam und grose Winterkälte war.

Endlich wurden 8. Man von dem Plazkomandanten in die weitentlegene Ortschaften geschickt welches mich auch traf,²⁸⁸ ich erhielt mehrere Schreiben zu Futterasch zu requirieren und obgleich ich keinen Weeg wusste so wurde mir dennoch für keinen Botten gesorgt, da ich also meinen Auftrag befolgen

²⁸⁵ Here Walter's recollections must be clarified. It seems to be evident that Walter was among those Romig troopers kept at Glogau after January 20, and therefore among those used for special duties such as escorting convoys from Silesia to imperial supply headquarters. During January and February these convoys went to Petrikau and Warsaw, thereafter to Thorn primarily, since this city became the main supply center after February 20. Shipments of food, drink, clothing, cavalry equipment, and munitions under steady urging became almost continual during March. Cash was sent in January and early in April only, according to a close check of the evidence. At the moment Walter would have returned to Glogau from the Bunzlau episode, a most urgent call for artillery and munitions had come from Napoleon at Osterode (February 25). On March 3 the munition wagons were ready to start to Thorn as soon as a company arrived with horses to hitch to them. This is the only convoy listed as leaving Glogau at a date which would fit Walter's story of his trip, allowing for the fortnight at Gnesen and the return to Glogau on Easter Eve, March 28. So Walter was just in time for the treasure convoy which he has confusedly connected with the wrong set of personal incidents, as we shall see. For the data regarding the treasure shipment are ample. From Osterode on March 22 Napoleon first required his brother Jérôme to send on to Thorn 7,000,000 livres, the bulk of the gains from the Silesian conquest. Repeating this order on March 24, he adds that the shipment should be convoyed by two Württemberg regiments of 1200 to 1400 men, "who will be useful to me at Thorn." The two infantry regiments were the Seckendorff and Romig, which were being concentrated then at the Neisse headquarters. They were to start on March 30, but were delayed until the morning of April 4, to assemble scattered detachments and refit the troops. According to Jérôme's reckoning they were due on April 24 at Thorn. He expected that they would make from three to ten leagues a day. See notes 278, 288, 302.

After I had been in Glogau one day, I had to escort with a part of the regiment 19 money wagons to the Grand Army. These money wagons were drawn by four and six horses, and many sank into the mire every day. This march went through Breslau and then across the Polish border to Kalisch, Posen, Gnesen, [Inowr]azlav, and Thorn on the Vistula River, where the convoy was given over. From there we had to return to Gnesen, a sizable city in Poland. There we had a storeroom to guard, watching in a room at a bright fire. In this house there was a Polish soldier's wife who taught me as much Polish as I would need. We suffered from the cold a great deal there during the two weeks of our stay because our feet got no warmth and a severely cold winter prevailed.

Finally, eight men, including myself, were sent into the outlying villages by the commandant of the city. I received several written orders to requisition food supplies; yet, even though I did not know the roads, I was not furnished with a guide. Since

²⁸⁶ Breslau in Silesia, which was surrendered on January 5, 1807; Kalisch, capital of the Polish government of the same name, 130 miles WSW. of Warsaw; Bossen, a dialect spelling of the name of Posen, Polish Poznan; Gnissen, i.e., Gnesen, Polish Gniezno, 30 miles ENE. of Posen; Atzlaf, i.e., Inowrazlav, between Gnesen and Thorn: Walter mistook the first part of the name for German Ober-, "upper," and therefore repeatedly shortened the name to Atzlaf or Atzlav. See notes 30 and 241.

²⁸⁷ Another spelling of Gnesen. See note 286. For still another, Knisen, see below.

²⁸⁸ While proof of these specific stories concerning requisitions is lacking they agree with certain known facts. As the war of 1807 was ostensibly waged for a rebirth of Poland, the Poles undertook to raise some troops and to contribute military supplies for Napoleon. Food was to be requisitioned by local officials and sent to the French supply bases, but abuses and evasion brought friction, and the French had to use direct pressure. This was done especially in the early spring when, directly after the critical battle of Eylau (February 8), a new major supply base in addition to Warsaw was established at Thorn. During March Napoleon's correspondence with Duroc, Daru, Tourmon, Rapp, Jérôme, Berthier, even Talleyrand, bristled with urgent calls for food for his needy forces. The consequent high pressure around Bromberg, Posen, Gnesen, etc., in the middle of March had stripped these districts so much that relief had to be sent to them. Significant is also the imperial instruction of March 20 to Talleyrand, and through him confidentially to Jérôme, about keeping a check on soldiers in villages; for it agrees with similar persistent intimations of their licence and mistreatment of the rural folk. See note 278. Actually Walter's account of his handling of Polish villagers and Jews seems relatively understated in this case and quite credible. He also correctly notes the cold temperature at that time, which was so severe in the third week of March that Napoleon and his chief army surgeon, Baron Percy, comment much upon it. Cf. *Corresp. Nap.*, vol. XIV, nos. 11865, 11874, 11919, 11972, 12019, 12101, 12184, Percy, *Journal*, pp. 207 ff. Walter recalls these experiences of 1807 at Posen, Gnesen, Inowrazlav, and Thorn when passing through those towns again in 1812.

musste so gieng ich wie auch die andern Kamuraden in die Judengasse welche alle Teutsch Reden jedoch die wenigste Teutsch Lesen oder Schreiben, auch nach Erfahrung nicht Polnisch lesen konten dorten wolte ich den ersten besten Juden nehmen als Weegweiser, der erste flüchtete sich und so alle nach welchen ich lief, endlich setzte ich einem nach biss in das Dachwerk seynes Hauses und verwischte²⁸⁹ ihn bey vielen Weiber und Kindern, hier wolte er sich wehren und ich musste ernst brauchen, nahm ihn und zog ihn die 2. Stiegen herunter musste ihn auch 2 Stunden fort am Rok halten und fort Stossen, da ich ihm trohte wänn er das rechte Ort verfehlen solte, u. so kam ich gegen das rechte Ort biss auf $\frac{1}{4}$. Meile hin, hier musste ich über einen See laufen u: das Wasser gieng bis über die Knie, den Juden heisste ich voran gehen der aus Angst des Versaufens bedeutent Heulte, um so mehr da ich lachen musste und ihn sogleich wider zurik schikte, nach dem Uebergang setzte sich der Jude nider schittelte seyne mit Wasser angefilte Stifeln aus.

Nachdem ich in das vor mir gelegene Orth ein kam wurde ich bey dem Edelman in das Schulzsen Haus einquatirt, da ich aber durch eine Stroththür in das Zimmer kam so konte ich mich nicht aufrecht anstellen und vor Rauch keine Leuthe sehen was mich nöthigte bey dem Edelman mich selbst einzuquatiren.

Den andren Tag suchte ich die 8. Dorfschaften zu bereisen, allein ich hatte öfters in einem Tage nur eins u: auch zwey errungen da die Entfernung öfters 3. biss 4. Meilen zu laufen kostete, in einem Edelhof konte ich einsmal keinen Botten erhalten, da sich vor meiner einzigen Person alles verlaufte und verschif,²⁹⁰ auch ein groser Hund mich imer Attagirte, wegen meinen gewöhnten Jugensinn verschoss²⁹¹ ich den Hund was auch noch schuld war das ich keinen Botten Bekam, hir reisste ich auf Gutdänken²⁹² einer Gegend allein zu in ein Dorf, und bekam hier wie beynahe allenthalben ungeforderte Bresende²⁹³ welches mir wohl bekam.

²⁸⁹ Instead of *erwischte*; *er-* in Swabian dialect is usually replaced by *ver-*. See notes 42, 56, 291.

²⁹⁰ Probably instead of *verschlif*, from *verschließen*, "to hide."

²⁹¹ Instead of *erschoss*. See note 289.

I had to carry out my commission, I went, as did my other comrades, into the Jewish section, where everyone spoke German but few could read or write it and few, as I found out, could read Polish. There I wanted to take the first Jew I came across as a guide, but the first escaped and likewise the others I chased. Finally, I ran after one and chased him into the attic of his house and caught him among many women and children. Here he wanted to defend himself, and I had to use force. I took him, dragged him down the two flights of stairs, and had to hold him by the coat and kick him forward for two hours, threatening him if he should fail to lead me to the right village. Here I had to walk through a lake, and the water went over my knees. I commanded the Jew to lead the way, and he howled so loudly for fear of drowning that I had to laugh and send him back immediately. After crossing, the Jew sat down and shook out his water-filled boots.

After I arrived in the village ahead of me, the nobleman quartered me in the mayor's house; but, when I entered the room through a straw door, I could not stand upright and could not see any people for the smoke. This compelled me to quarter myself at the nobleman's house.

The next day I tried to visit eight villages, but I frequently got to only one or two in a day, for often it was necessary to walk a distance of three or four miles. In one manor I once could get no guide, since everyone ran away and hid from my lone self. A big dog also kept attacking me, and I shot the dog because of my customary youthful impulses. This was another reason why I got no guide. Here I traveled alone, depending upon my own good judgment, to a village in another region and received here, as almost everywhere, unrequested presents which pleased me very much.

²⁹² Phonetic spelling of *Gutdünken* according to Swabian dialect pronunciation. See note 280.

²⁹³ Phonetic spelling of *Präsente*, "presents." — As to the conduct of the Württemberg troops during the winter of 1806-1807 one may note that Lieutenant General von Seckendorff had to report to his king, Frederick, "dass eine gewisse Verwilderung einzutreten droht und eine grenzenlose Habsucht oft arge Exzesse und Misshandlung der armen Landleute zur Folge hat." A. Pfister, *König Friedrich*, p. 150.

Da ich wie gemeldet statt in 4. Tagen die Dörfer zu bereisen, 8. Tage zu thun hatte, so gieng der in Knisen gelegen Transport eiligst ab, und ich u. noch 3. Mann kamen zu späth zurück. Der Transport war fort. Mit bekommener Marschruthe von Knisen An biss nach der Vestung Neuse in Schläsien mussten wir allein marschiren,²⁹⁴ welches ein Weeg von 100. Stunden seyn wird.

Nachdem wir 4 Mann uns gut zu befunden glaubten eilten wir nicht den Transport einzuholen, sondern begnügten uns mit komoden²⁹⁵ Fahren u: besuchen der Edelleuthe welche gewöhnlich ihre gute eigene Pferde einspanen mussten mit der Trohung, wir hätten bis morgen den Transport einzuholen was denn Edelleuthen zur Verantwortung komen könnte, auf diese art bekamen wir jedoch gewöhnlich nur mit Gewalt, Pferde.

Einsmal nahmen wir einem Edelmanne 4. Pferde und zum Unglik traf der Marsch uns durch eine grosse Gufernementstatt, Bosen,²⁹⁶ hir redete der Knecht mit einigen Bürgern was wir nicht verstanden, jedoch unangehalten, in der lezten Vorstadt wolten wir etwas Schnaps trüken und hielten an, sogleich kam der Edelman auf ein Schimel als polnischer General der da in Garnison lag, unsere Lage scheint nicht die beste zu seyn und wir hatten uns zu beraden wie zu thun seye, Geschwind musste sich der am übelsten aussehende Kamurad auf den Boden legen und immerhin²⁹⁷ seufzen und Wehklagen, der General grüsste uns mit der Trohung solches Verfahren an seynen Pferden in das unserige Hauptquartir nach Schläsien zu schreiben was auch hätte geschehen können wänn nicht der Kranke Mann dem General ein rechtliches Bedenken erregt hätte, uns weiters zu verantworten sagten wir, eben so gerecht hätten wir uns bey unserm Regiment anzuklagen das Euer Exelenz HE: General unsere Nachfolge verhinterten und dem Kranken seynen Tod verschuldet hätten, auf diese Worte war sogleich ein Wage mit 2. Pferde da und wir konten mit unserm gesunden Kranken wider lachend fortfahren.

²⁹⁴ Neisse, a fortified town in Silesia, near the Moravian border, 30 miles SW. of Oppeln. Neisse was surrounded on June 16, 1807.

²⁹⁵ A Swabian dialect expression instead of German bequem. In the *Oberamtsbeschei-*

Since, as I have said, it required eight days instead of four to visit the villages and since the convoy lying in Gnesen left hurriedly, I and three other men returned too late. The convoy was gone. Having obtained the route of march from Gnesen to the Neisse stronghold in Silesia, we had to march alone a distance of about one hundred hours.

Since we four men thought we were well off, we did not hurry to catch the convoy but contented ourselves with comfortable traveling. We visited the noblemen, who usually had to hitch up their own good horses for us while we threatened that we had to catch the convoy by the next day and that the noblemen could be made responsible if we missed it. However, we usually had to combine force with these methods to get horses.

Once we took four horses from a nobleman, and unfortunately the march led us through a large government city, Posen. Here the servant said something we could not understand to a few citizens, but we were not stopped. We wanted to drink some brandy in the last suburb, and we halted. At once the nobleman came up on a white horse, being a Polish general stationed there in garrison. Our position did not seem to be the best, and we had to discuss what was to be done. Quickly our sickest-looking comrade had to lie on the ground and continually moan and lament. The general greeted us by threatening to write to our headquarters in Silesia about such use of his horses. That might have happened if the sick man had not aroused some serious doubt on the part of the general. To defend ourselves further, we said we had just as much right to complain to our regiment that his Excellency the General had hindered our progress and had caused the death of a sick man. At these words a wagon with two horses was brought there at once, and we were able to travel away laughing with our healthy "sick man."

bung Ellwangen, p. 196, it is listed as one of the foreign words used frequently in that region. Cf. also Schwäb. Wb., IV, 595.

²⁹⁶ Posen, capital of the Polish government of the same name. See note 286.

²⁹⁷ *Immerhin* in the sense of *immer*, "always," is listed in Schwäb. Wb., IV, 27, although as obsolete. In the modern German sense of "still," "after all," it is not used in the dialect.

Von Bosen aus kamen wir in ein polnischen Städtchen an das Frauenstatt hies u: eine Garnison Stadt wahr,²⁹⁸ diese Stadt muss ich Bemerken wegen ihren Windmilen die an der Zahl 99. sind.

Von Frauenstadt kamen wir nach mehrern märschen am Vorabend des Ostertags in Glogau an und wurden zu einem Juden einquartirt, da wir fruher in dieser Stadt bekant waren so wolten wir auch diesen Juden zum Andenken machen, das Essen war gewöhnlich wegen Sparsamkeit und Unreinigkeit halber mit Exzese verbunden und da dennen Juden reinliches Geschürr aufgedeckt worden ist so nahmen wir alles heriber u: asen damit was einen Lermen in dem Hause machte das ein Haufen Leuthe sich zum Hören vor das Haus stellte, unsere Verantwortung war das wir nicht gewusst hätten von Unkoscher zu machen was nicht so für uns gemeint gewesen seye, und so konte der Jud auch keine Klage fortsetzen.

Von Glogau reisten wir mit beyseyn einiger schwarzen Jäger gegen der Vestung Schweitniz²⁹⁹ und hatten aus Glogau kein Wagen erhalten was uns eine grose Drückung denkte, da es am Ostertag war und wir in einem Dorfe so Hohkirch³⁰⁰ heisst nach Pferdte in allen Stallungen schauten, so fanden wir denoch keines was uns auch in dem Pfarrhof zu suchen nöthigte.

Als wir die Gebäude aufsuchten und nichts fanden auch nur ein altes Weib vorhanden war, so wolten wir in die Kirche hinschauen woselbst gerade Gottesdienst und die Kirche voll Leuthe waren unterdessen Stund eine mit 2. Pferde bespante schöne Kutsche im Hofe und wir machten die Pferde loss und fuhren ohne einen Knecht ab, da wir zu eilen hatten um dem Kirchenfolge zu entkommen musste ich fahren und fuhr auf einen Baumstozen das die Kutsche und alle im Drek dalagen, hier machten wir uns auf und fuhren biss an eine halbe Meile vor Schweinniz²⁹⁹ daselbst war ein Krug im Walde³⁰¹ und gingen

²⁹⁸ Fraustadt, in the German Grenzmark, 48 miles SSW. of Posen. Concerning the windmills, cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XI (Cambridge, 1910), 43: "In a flat sandy country, dotted with windmills."

²⁹⁹ Schweidnitz, formerly strongly fortified, in Silesia, 31 miles SW. of Breslau; in the

After Posen we came into a little Polish town called Frau-stadt, which was a garrison town. I have to mention this town because of its windmills, which numbered 99.

From Fraustadt we came after several marches to Glogau on Easter Eve and were quartered with a Jew. Since we were acquainted in this city, we wanted to give this Jew something to remember us by. The meals were usually attended by violence on account of stinginess and uncleanness; and, since clean chinaware was always set up for the Jews, we took over all that chinaware and ate with it, causing such an uproar in the house that a crowd of people gathered in front of the house to listen. Our defense was that we just had not thought of making anything unkosher that had been intended not to be for us, and so the Jews could not set forth any complaint.

From Glogau we traveled with some of the Black Riflemen toward the stronghold of Schweidnitz. We had not obtained a wagon out of Glogau, which seemed to us a great hardship. It was Easter Day, and we looked for horses in every stable in a village called Hochkirch, but found none, which failure made it necessary for us to look even in the parsonage.

When we searched the buildings and found nothing but an old woman there, we wanted to look into the church where the service was in progress, and we found the church full of people. Meanwhile there stood in the court a beautiful carriage hitched with two horses; so we untied the horses and rode away without a servant. Since we had to hurry to escape the church folk, I had to drive and ran into a tree stump so that the carriage and all of us lay there in the mud. Here we set out again and traveled until we were a half mile from Schweidnitz. In that place there was a tavern in the forest; and, after we had sold the car-

dialect the name may be pronounced Schweinnitz. After the capitulation of Breslau on January 5, 1807, Vandamme received orders to march with the Württemberg troops against Schweidnitz. He arrived there on January 10 with the following regiments: Crown Prince, Schröder, Lilienberg, Duke Wilhelm; on January 20, two companies of the regiment of Romig followed. Schweidnitz surrendered on February 16, 1807.

³⁰⁰ Hochkirch, a village in Silesia, 8 miles S. of Glogau. — Easter Sunday, 1807, was March 29.

³⁰¹ See note 18. *Krug* is used in North Germany for a tavern or an inn.

nach wohlfeiler Verkaufung dieses Gefährts an den Wirth, unsern Marsch weiter fort.

Als wir nun gegen Neisen der Vestung kamen²⁹⁴ mussten wir mit unserm Regiment u: dem Regiment Sekendorf³⁰² wider über Breslau, über Polen der Stadt Kalisch, Bosen Knisen Atzlaß und Thorn an der Weichsel³⁰³ von dort über Breisch: Bummern³⁰⁴ nach der Vestung Kollberg an dem Ostsee,³⁰⁵ 1. Meile vor dieser Vestung ist ein Stadt so Belgart heisst und ein Schloss da war welches unserm König Friederich als in dieser Stadt gelegener General von der Kavallerie gehert hatte.³⁰⁶

In dieser Reis von Thorn biss Kollberg habe ich einen See gesehen der in einem Wald und bey einem Kloster lag dieser hatte in Menge Frösche welche ganz schöne hellblaue Farben hatten und jeder Soldat nicht nachlies biss er einen solchen schönen Frosch gefangen hatte, von selbiger Gegend an kamen wir in ein Städtchen in welchem der Gröste teil Bewohner Juden wahren, selbigen Tag hatten wir mehrere Meilen lang in Sümpfe und Schneewasser zu laufen biss an die Knie hin, u. da die Quartiere abens bezogen wurden, kam ich mit noch 4. Mann zu einem Juden in welcher Stube alles mit Stroh und Gäisen war, da weder Feuer noch Essen zu haben war, gingen wir in ein nächstes Haus zu Logiren, suchten den Juden und Behielten ihn in Verwahrung, dann nur durch Strenge Behandlung brachte die Frau wegen dem Mann uns zu Essen.

³⁰² The Seckendorff regiment bore the name of its sometime colonel, who as lieutenant general was nominal head of the Württemberg contingent in the war of the Fourth Coalition until April, 1807. As one of the three regiments of the first brigade of the Württemberg division of the ninth army corps, the Seckendorff regiment had shared actively in the campaign until after the fall of Schweidnitz, when it had to escort prisoners to Dresden. See note 278. It was back and took part in the siege of Neisse, when it was selected at Easter as one of the convoy regiments for the big treasure shipment departing for Thorn. See note 285. Walter gives the impression that these convoying regiments (Romig and Seckendorff) knew that they were bound for Colberg, but that is highly improbable. Napoleon's original order of March 22 had merely intimated that he could use them at Thorn. On April 3 he asked that their itinerary be sent to him. Then on April 11 he notified Loison, who was in command at Colberg, that on the morrow he was sending a Polish regiment from Danzig and two Württemberg regiments from Posen. However, apparently not until his letter of April 13 did he tell Jérôme that he had "orders to go from Posen to Colberg to aid in the siege of that place" and that Jérôme was to send there any remaining detachments or individuals of these units. This Jérôme had ordered when replying on April 23, but in the meantime, on April 17, he had hastened to relay a letter of the King of Württemberg, who expressed his "pro-

riage and horses cheaply to the innkeeper, we continued our march.

When we came to the fortress of Neisse, we had to go on with our regiment and with the Seckendorff Regiment through Breslau, across Poland through the city of Kalisch, then Posen, Gnesen, [Inowr]azlav, and Thorn on the Vistula River. From there we went through Prussian Pomerania toward the fortress of Colberg on the Baltic Sea. One mile from this stronghold is a town called Belgard, and there was a castle there which had belonged to our King Frederick while he had encamped in this town as general of the cavalry.

On this journey from Thorn to Colberg I saw a lake which lay in a forest by a monastery. In this lake were multitudes of frogs which were of a very beautiful bright blue color, and no soldier would quit until he had caught one of these beautiful frogs. Beyond this region we came to a little town in which the largest part of the inhabitants were Jews. The same day we had had to walk several miles through swamps and snow water up to our knees; and, when quarters were taken there for the evening, I and four other men came into a Jew's house. The room was full of straw and goats. Since neither fire nor wood was to be had, we went into the next house to lodge, looked for the Jew, and took him into custody; for only by applying such stern

found affliction" over the detachment of three of his regiments. This protest, evidently prompted by the first news of the order of March 24, was acknowledged by Napoleon on April 25, with the assurance "*Que des circonstances momentanées m'ont forcé à faire un détachement de son armée, mais que je le réunira le plus tôt possible.*" Cf. Jérôme's *Mémoires*, II, 464, 492, 498, 504 ff., *Corresp. Nap.*, vol. XV, nos. 12280, 12344-12346, 12365.

³⁰³ See note 286.

³⁰⁴ Partly a phonetic spelling for *Preussisch Pommern*, i.e., Prussian Pomerania, as different from Swedish Pomerania. The *u* in *Bummern* is "hyper-correct."

³⁰⁵ Colberg, or Kolberg, on the Baltic Sea, the fortress famous through its brave defenders Nettelbeck, Schill, and von Gneisenau. Concerning the expression *an dem Ostsee*, see notes 5 and 313. — The number of men defending the city finally amounted to about 6000, while more than 7000 troops under Marshall Mortier were besieging it. The two Württemberg Regiments under Colonel von Berndes arrived on April 27.

³⁰⁶ Belgard, a town in Pomerania, 25 miles SE. of Colberg. — The castle to which Walter refers must be at Treptow, where Frederick, afterwards King of Württemberg, was born and where he later was stationed for a time in the service of Frederick the Great.

Da wir nun die Vestung Kolberg belagerten so wurde uns das Lager in einem Sumpfigten Plaz angewiesen, da das Holz selten so auch das Stroh zu haben war so wurden die Barraken von Erden u: Wäsen gebaud umher Gräben gestochen.³⁰⁷

Da auch etwas Krankheiten entstunden wegen dem imerwehrenden Nebel so wurde ich auch Krank u: musste in das Spital nach der Vestung Stettin so auch eine See Vestung ist. Als ich nun da ankam mit mehrere von Regiment, so kamen wir in dem Hospital über 3. Stokwerke unter das Dach gelegt, u: wurden täglich 12. u: 15. Mann um mich her Tod, was mir einen Ekel u: endlich den Tod gekostet hätte wän ich mich mit noch 4. Kamuraden gleich am 2ten Tage gesund gemeldet hätte und nicht fortkommen wäre, Dieser Spital und noch 3. andere Spithäler hatten nach der Sage 6000. Kranke was auch Ursach war das jeder der zum Essen Abeditt hatte gros Hunger leiten musste was auch mich teils zum Abgehen bewogen hatte. Den dritten Tag türfen wir 5. Mann abgehen und reissten unverzüglich zum Regiment.³⁰⁸

In dieser Vestung Stettin hatten die Wirtsburger Soldaten Besazung und waren alle weis u: roth gefasst gekleidet nämmllich so wie Oestreicher Millitär,³⁰⁹ diese Vestung hatte eine Lage welche nur auf der Seite gegen Berlin zu Land belagert werden konte, hier flisst die Oder in die Ostsee welches Wasser samt dennen Sümpfe durch welche Sümpfe eine Meile breit Flüsse von der Oder laufen, 2/3 teil die Stadt umschlüss, u: über den Sumpf geht ein gepflasterter Dam eine Meile lang biss

³⁰⁷ The headquarters of Colonel Berndes (later of General Schröder), commandant of the first brigade of the French forces, was at Tramm. No straw or supplies were given to the troops for 36 hours, and the ration of officers and men was much inferior to what they had had in Silesia. Quarters were poor. The brigade had to occupy French redoubts 10 and 12 and prepare outworks, dikes, etc., over the morass and on the fields toward the Lauenburg suburb and a new outpost on the sandhill of the Wolfsberg some 2000 feet east of Colberg. This redoubt, which Gneisenau was finishing, was built with a two-foot breastwork above a five-foot moat. An attempt had been made to stop his work, on May 7, but it failed. Cf. A. Pfister, *Württ. Kriegsgeschichte*, pp. 348 ff., Delbrück, *Gneisenau*, I, 78-83.

³⁰⁸ On account of the dank, chill sea-winds and fogs and "the swampy terrain the state of health in the camp before Colberg was entirely unsatisfactory, and the hospitals in Tramm and Stettin began to fill quickly." A. Pfister, *Württ. Kriegsgeschichte*, p. 349. But the situation was similar throughout East Pomerania, and hospital conditions

treatment could we induce the wife to bring us food on her husband's account.

While we were besieging the fortress of Colberg, we were assigned a camp in a swampy place. Since wood and even straw were rarely to be had, the barracks were built from earth and sod, and ditches were dug around them.

As some sickness was arising because of the continual fog, I also became sick and had to go to the hospital in the fortress of Stettin, which is also a fortress on the sea. When I arrived with several from the regiment, we were placed three stories high under the roof in the hospital. Here twelve to fifteen of the men about me died every day, which made me sick at my stomach and would have caused my death in the end if I and four comrades had not reported ourselves as being well even on the second day and escaped. This hospital and three others, according to rumor, had six thousand sick people; and that was the reason also why everyone with an appetite had to suffer great hunger, which was one of the things that moved me to leave. The third day we five men were allowed to go, and we traveled without delay to our regiment.

In this fortress of Stettin the Würzburg soldiers were stationed and were all dressed in uniforms of white and red, that is, like Austrian soldiers. This stronghold had a position which could be besieged only by land from the side facing Berlin. Here the Oder River flows into the Baltic Sea. This, together with the swamps, which extend for a mile and through which currents of the Oder flow, surrounds two-thirds of the city. Over the swamp is a paved dike a mile long, reaching to the head of

near Danzig and Graudenz (where Napoleon speaks of an epidemic raging) must have been worse than what Walter found at Stettin, judging from the *Journal* kept by General Percy (pp. 227 ff.). In one of his letters regarding the fight on May 17-18 Gneisenau says the enemy sent 57 wagons of wounded to the hospitals at Köslin, Cörlin, Treptow, and Stettin. This statement accounts for the other three hospitals to which Walter alludes besides Stettin. Of all of them Stettin was farthest away from Colberg, about 100 miles by road. If the time for travel is added to his time in hospital, it will be noted that Walter was at least a week away from Colberg and thus probably missed the first attack on the Wolfsberg on May 7. According to A. Pfister, *Württ. Kriegsgeschichte*, pp. 348 ff., over 160 out of 8000 soldiers died on account of illness.

an den Brikenkopf dem Orth Dam genant.³¹⁰ Diese Stadt ist gross u: Schön und hate besonders grose Kauf od: Handelsschiffe im Hafen zur Ansicht.

Als wir 5 Man wider ohne Verweilung nach der Vestung Kolberg kamen, hatten wir noch 3. Wochen die Ehre gesund wider die Belagerung auszuhalten, besonders wurde mir die Pfingstnacht zum Gedächtnisse da die Vestung gestürmt wurde.³¹¹

Als wir Nachmiternacht im Lager ausrücken mussten hatten alle Regimenter im Sumpf vorwärts anzu marschieren und am Ende da das kleine Feuren auf die Vorposten anging so wurde mit Sturm Komandirt über den Walgraben mit Faschinen zu waden, solche hinein zu dretten und mit Hauen u: Schaufeln die Vorwerke einzurammeln, als ich in dem Graben stand musste nach dennen ersten einen den andern an Gewere hinaufziehen, da der Wal von Sand war und jeder zum öfter mit Gewalt von dem Feund so auch bloss von Sandrutschen wider abstürzte musste, doch hatten uns die grose Kanonen Kukeln daselbst überhoben die so stark donnerten das mann glaubte die Erde müsste sich in Stüke teilen. als alle bereits oben waren auf der Schanze wurden die Preisen mit allem Gewalt ermordet, und die übrige nahmen die Flucht zum Thore hinein, sogar wolten alle von uns auch dem Thore zu sich bemechtigen in die Stadt zu kommen, allein wegen Noth wurden viele von dennen Breisen selbst von klein und Gross Geschitz samt dem Feunde erschossen und das Thor wurde geschlossen.

Da aus der Vestung alle Kanonen und Leuchtkugeln wie ein Wolkenbruch herausbrach so musste die Flucht ergrifen werden. Die welche unterdessen die Schanzen verramleten mussten sich samt dennen Gefangenen von der Vestung in den Walgraben stürzen, u: so alle. Bey diesem Ritteriren fielen viele in die Baionete, viele versauften, und mehrere wurden auch von uns

³⁰⁹ From the Peace of Pressburg in 1805 to the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Würzburg belonged to Ferdinand, formerly Grand Duke of Tuscany. This explains the Austrian uniforms which the Würzburg troops were wearing in 1807, to Walter's surprise.

³¹⁰ Damm or Altdamm, 5 miles ESE. of Stettin, where the Plöne River flows into

the bridge near a village named Dam. This city is large and beautiful and had especially large merchant ships in the harbor to look at.

When we five men came again without delay to the fortress of Colberg, we had the honor of enduring the siege in good health for another three weeks. Pentecost Night is especially fixed in my memory, since the fortress was stormed then.

When we had to leave camp after midnight, all the regiments marched forward through the swamp; and finally, when light firing began upon the outposts, we were commanded to attack by wading through the rampart ditches with fascines, to tread these in, and to scramble up the outworks by chopping and shoveling. When I stood in the ditch, each first soldier had to pull up the next one with his rifle. The ramparts were of sand, and everyone frequently fell back again because of the attack of the enemy, or just because of the sliding sand; yet in that place the huge cannonballs flew by above us[?], thundering so violently that we would have believed the earth would burst to pieces. When everyone was almost on top of the earthwork, the Prussians were slaughtered with great vigor, and the rest took flight into the gate. Then we, too, wanted to gain possession of the gateway in order to enter the city, but at this critical time many of these Prussians were shot along with our men by small and large guns, and the gate was closed.

Since all sorts of shells and rockets broke out of the fortress like a cloudburst, we had to take to flight. Those who meanwhile were scrambling up the outworks had to jump from the fortress into the moat along with their prisoners, and all the rest had to do likewise. During this retreat many fell on bayonets, many drowned, and many of us were also brought into the fort-

the Lake of Damm.

³¹¹ This attack of May 17-18, 1807, by 1600 Polish, Italian, and Württemberg troops under General Teulié was directed not against the fortress itself, but against the earthworks on the Wolfsberg, east of the city. After a storm detachment under the Württemberg Colonel von Berndes had occupied the earthworks, the invaders were driven back by a counterattack of the Grenadier Battalion Waldenfels, which was sent there from the suburb of Lauenburg at 2 o'clock the same night. The Wolfsberg was finally conquered on June 11, 1807.

gefangen in die Vestung gebracht und nach Danzig auf dem Wasser fortgeführt.

Als das Lager erreicht wurde sahe man viele welche kein Kaskett,³¹² kein Gewehr, kein Sabel kein Tornister etc. mehr hatten, u: viele suchten wegen zerschiedenem Fallen u: Schmerzen, Blesuren und hatten keine, Viele aber nahmen die Blesuren so sie erhielten, erst im Lager gewahr.

In diesem Lager waren Polaken, Westvehler, Franzosen und wie gemeldet nur 2. Regimenten von uns Wirttenbergern im Lager, an einem Morgen überfielen die Preisen wie schon zum Ostern geschehen das Polnische Lager auf dem See mit Schiffen,³¹³ das Kanonen-Feuer auf die Polen war so stark das nicht geschwind genug abgezogen werden konte, auch liefen die Kugeln gegen dem Lager um die Hälfte weiter als unsere Kugeln gegen das Wasser, da das Mos umher gefroren war u: so die Kugeln auf dem Eise stark fort rollen konten wo oft eine Kugel 10. u: 12. Mann die Füße unten oder oben mit nahm, auch öfters einem 2. Füße. Bey dieser Plokgat³¹⁴ machten die Preisen zum öftern Ausfälle was sie jedoch nur mit Verlust daten.

Am Ende über 4. Wochen kam Befehl von General Wandam oder vielmehr von Prinz Jerom³¹⁵ das beide Regimenten von Wirttemberg in eilmarsche zur Belagerung des Silberbergs nach Schlössien solten.³¹⁶

Als abmarschiert wurde mussten in dem Stadtchen Belgart vorspan gegeben werden um die Tornister etc. zu fuhren, was mich zum Unglik brachte, das mein Tornister, Mantel Bainet³¹⁷ und mein Geld welches ich in einer Gort³¹⁸ hatte im Mantel

³¹² A special kind of steel helmet.

³¹³ Auf dem See: concerning the masculine gender, see note 5. — According to A. Pfister, *Württ. Kriegsgeschichte*, p. 351, the Württemberg losses in the attack of May 17-18 were: Seckendorff regiment, 1 dead, 2 missing, 13 wounded; Romig regiment, 1 dead, 2 missing, 19 wounded. No data for the rest of the allies were given. These were Italians, Poles, and a Saxe-Weimar regiment (not Westphalians, as Walter says).

³¹⁴ Misspelling of the word *Blokkade*.

³¹⁵ The reference is to Count Dominique René Vandamme (1770-1830), the French general who was responsible, under Prince Jérôme Bonaparte, for the activities of the Württembergers under General von Seckendorff. Seckendorff was inefficient, given to drinking, and easily offended, Vandamme energetic, effective, and insolent. The resulting friction was the reason for the withdrawal of the former, who was replaced on May 4, 1807, by the abler General von Kammrer. Kammrer had fuller control over the Württem-

ress as prisoners and sent away to Danzig by sea.

When we reached camp, we saw many who had lost their helmet, rifle, saber, knapsack, etc. Because of various falls and pains, many looked for wounds and had none; many, however, did not become aware of the wounds which they had until they reached camp.

In this camp there were Poles, Westphalians, French, and, as mentioned before, only two regiments of us from Württemberg. One morning the Prussians surprised the Polish camp from the sea with their ships, as had happened before on Easter. The cannon fire on the Poles was so heavy that they could not withdraw fast enough. Their cannonballs also traveled more than half again as far toward our camp as our balls did across the water, since the surrounding swamps were frozen and the balls could roll along on the ice so fast that one ball often took off the feet and legs of ten or twelve men, frequently both feet of the same man. During this blockade the Prussians frequently made attacks, although every time with great losses.

At the end of over four weeks the command came from General Vandamme, or rather from Prince Jerome, that both regiments from Württemberg should go by forced march to Silesia to the siege of Silberberg.

When we marched away, we had to get additional horses in the little town of Belgard to carry the knapsacks, etc. This brought me to misfortune, since my knapsack, cloak, bayonet, and the money which I had packed in a belt of my cloak, were

berg contingent, and so he rather than Vandamme may have been responsible for the recall of the regiments from Colberg. Another reason was Napoleon's promise to King Frederick in reply to the King's vigorous protest, a promise the more speedily fulfilled because the troops then were more urgently needed in Silesia than at Colberg. The order for the troops to leave had been given when Napoleon wrote Jérôme on May 18; and in a letter of May 26 he said that they had left long enough to be nearing Silesia. Cf. *Corresp. Nap.*, vol. XV, pp. 307, 336. It will be noted that Walter's memory has lengthened the Colberg period, which from his arrival on April 27 to his departure on May 24 would have been 27 days only.

³¹⁶ Silberberg in Silesia, 43 miles SSW. of Breslau. The Württemberg troops left there toward the end of May.

³¹⁷ Misspelling of *Bajonett*.

³¹⁸ Gort is the form for Standard German *Gurt* in Franconian dialect. See notes 196 and 267.

bepagt, verlohren gieng. Als ich das vernahm und im Quartier wahr wolte ich ein Pferd um zu andern Compagnien zu reiten und mein Verlohrens zu suchen, allein Millitärische Requisition musste ich anwenden u: ein Pferd im Wald mit dem Hausswirt suchen, da ich sahe das im Stall Pferdtdung war, als ich das Pferd hatte aber kein Sattel noch zaum machte ich einen Strik in das Gebiss und reisste ungefähr 3. Meilen in Dorfschaften umher und fandte nichts, zum besten hatte ich das ich mich verirrte und nicht zu fraken wusste wohin ich wolte daswegen der Landessprache ich das Ort nicht behalten konte und glaubte ich türfte mich auf meine Wegsbeobachtung verlassen, endlich wurde es nach und ich musste ohne Wahl das Pferd laufen lassen wohin es wolte, und ich hatte das besste gewehlt, das Pferd lieft die halbe nacht in Heiten u: Wälder und da ich es nicht fressen lies auf dem Boden gieng es in ihr wohnort nach Haus, und ich musste mit meinem Verlust zufrieden seyn.

Von diesem Dorf gieng der Marsch durch Pumern Pollen³¹⁹ und nach Breslau, von Kalisch erhielten wir Wägen und wurden alle auf Wägen in das Lager bei Frankenstein u: Reichenbach geführt³²⁰ und kamen im Monat Juni dort an.³²¹

Vor der Festung Silberberg hatten alle Regimenter von Württemberg, auch Barisches Militär Belagerung, die Vestung konte nicht bestürmt werden wegen ihrer Höhe und wurde auch nicht übergeben, die Beschafenheit dieser Vestung konten viele gefangene von uns beschauen jedoch erst nach dem Krieg, unter dem Krieg türften dieselbe nicht einmal den Weg gewar nehmen so sie zu laufen hatten.

Nach Verfluss 14. Tage blieben noch einige Regimenter vor dieser Vestung und die andern, worunter auch ich war mussten die Belagerung Klaz andretten,³²² als vor dieser Vestung Blogat genommen wurde bezogen die Württenberger das Lager in einer

³¹⁹ Pommern and Polen.

³²⁰ Frankenstein, a town of Prussian Silesia, 39 miles S. of Breslau; Reichenbach, 31 miles SW. of Breslau.

³²¹ According to A. Pfister, *Württ. Kriegsgeschichte*, p. 354, the regiments recalled from Colberg were as quickly as possible brought to the camp at Frankenstein, where they arrived on June 10. Jérôme, *Mémoires*, II, 342, 371, 539, gives May 24 as the time of departure from Colberg, but varies with regard to the date of arrival at Frankenstein

lost. When I was in my quarters and learned this, I wanted a horse to ride to the other companies in order to look for my lost articles; but I had to make use of a military requisition and look for a horse with my landlord in the forest, since I saw that there was horse manure in the stable. When I had the horse but no saddle or bridle, I made a bridle out of a bit of rope and traveled about three miles in the surrounding villages but found nothing. At best I only got lost and did not know how to ask where I wanted to go; since because of the dialect there I could not remember the name of the village and I believed that I could depend on what I had remembered of the roads. Finally it grew dark, and with no other choice I had to let the horse go where it wished, and that proved the best choice. The horse walked half the night through heath and woods; and, since I did not let it graze from the ground, it went home to its village; and I had to be resigned to my loss.

From this village the march went through Pomerania and Poland to Breslau. From Kalisch on we obtained wagons and were all driven in them to the camp near Frankenstein and Reichenbach. We arrived there in the month of June.

Before the fortress of Silberberg, all the regiments from Württemberg and also Bavarian soldiers had laid siege. The stronghold could not be stormed because of its height and would not surrender. The ground plan of this fortress could be examined by many of our men who were captured, but only after the war. During the war they were not allowed even to see the way they had to go.

After two weeks had passed, a few regiments remained before this fortress; and the others, in which I belonged, had to begin the siege at Glatz. When the blockade of this stronghold was begun, the Württemberg troops took up their camp in a rye

(June 10, 11, and 12).

³²² In accordance with the terms agreed to on June 1, the fortress of Neisse was surrendered on June 16, leaving as the next French objectives the fortresses of Glatz and of Silberberg. On June 17 the advance came from the Frankenstein camp against Glatz, the Württembergers on the high left, the Bavarians on the low right bank of the Neisse River. By June 21, after a cannonade, the encirclement was complete, bridges joining the forces on the two sides of the river.

Rogenfeldung welches gerade am Blüen war, und das Stroh seine Länge hatte zu Barragen welches ein grosser Vorteil zum Biwagiren war.

Als ich in diesem Felde ankam eilte ich meinen Bruder zu suchen welcher bey dem Regiment Lillenberg stande,³²³ hier drafen wir zusammen, drückten und grüssten uns, und unsere Freude war herzlich gross: Nun nahm Er mich in seine Barak und gab mir Hosen, Hemter und mehrere Kleitungstücke welche ich bedürftig war nach dem ich (wie schon gesagt vordem) bei Kolberg bereits alles verlohren hatte.

Als nun die Festung Glaz umher blokirt war, so wurden mehrere Ausfälle auf uns unternommen was jedoch jedesmal zum Schaden der Preisen Endete, nach Verfluss 14. Tage wurde ein Sturm auf die Stadt und Vestung unternommen welcher von allen Lagern umher nachts um 1. Uhr los gieng,³²⁴ alles musste alles Geklürr der Gewehre und Kanonen sorgfältig verhüten und Kolonen weis durch die Kornfelder gegen die Vorposten riken, und schon von Taunässe am Koorn wurden alle Leute bis an den Hals durchaus nass. Nun gaben die Vorposten Feuer, das Stürmen wurde Kommandirt und alles musste über einen Fluss teils bis unter die Aerme gehen, ein Vorwerk gegen unsere Seite wurde hoh bestiegen und unter gross und kleinen Kugelregen wurde de Preisen mittelst Frau u: Kindern erstochen, verschossen und teils Lebendig über die Wähle samt Pferde und Kanonen hinunter gestürzt, sodann wurde von dem Regiment Lillenberg auf die Stadthore getrungen, was jedoch mit grossem Verlust vergeblich war: Als der Feund sich an und in der Stadtenge sich zu verdeitigen hatte, brach ein ungeheures gross und klein Geschüz auf uns, und alle mussten die behauptete Stellen eiligst verlassen, grosse Minen wurden in den Vorwerkern gesprengt und alles flog mit Leicht Feuer sogenannte Bech-

³²³ The Lilienberg regiment, which with those of Seckendorff and the Prince Royal formed the first brigade, under General Lilienberg, of the Würtemberg division in Silesia, had had an excellent record since its arrival in the Duchy early in November, 1806. Prior to its arrival before Glatz in June, 1807, it had taken an active part in the sieges of Glogau, Breslau, Schweidnitz, and Neisse.

³²⁴ The major event of the siege of Glatz was the general assault begun at 1 A.M. in the night of June 23/24, in which the Würtembergers had a glorious part. The Bavar-

field just blooming, and the straw was of the right length to serve for the barracks, which was a great advantage in camping.

When I arrived in this field, I hastened to look for my brother, who was in the Lilienberg Regiment. Here we met, embraced, and greeted one another, and joy filled our hearts. Then he took me to his barracks and gave me trousers, shirts, and several other pieces of clothing which I needed, since, as I have already said, I had lost almost everything at Colberg.

Then, when the stronghold of Glatz was surrounded by blockade, several surprise attacks were undertaken against us, which always ended, nevertheless, in a loss to the Prussians. After two weeks had passed, we undertook against the town and the fortress an attack which started from each camp at about one o'clock at night. Everyone had to be careful to prevent any noise from the rifles and cannon, and we moved in columns through the grain fields toward the outposts. The men were already wet through up to their necks from the dew on the grain. Then the outposts began to fire, the command to storm was given, and everyone had to go through a river, at times up to his arms in water. A breastwork facing us was mounted, and under a rain of large and small bullets the Prussians along with their women and children were stabbed and shot to death, and some were hurled alive, together with their horses and cannon, over the sides of the walls. Then the Lilienberg Regiment pressed upon the city gates, an attempt which, in spite of great losses, was of no avail, however. While the enemy had to defend themselves around and in the crowded part of the city, a terrible shelling of light and heavy artillery broke in upon us, and all of us had to abandon the positions we had taken. Large mines were exploded in the breastwork, and everywhere there flew rockets,

ians attacked a new redoubt on the lower side. The Württembergers stormed the main works under the leadership of Major General Lilienberg, and his own regiment was engaged under him. The Romig regiment was in the supporting reserve at the Neisse ford with General Neubronn's brigade. Walter's personal impressions agree essentially with the more technical accounts of the event. Cf. A. Pfister, *Württ. Kriegsgeschichte*, pp. 354 f.; Jérôme's *Mémoires*, II, 377-381. A consequence of this assault was the capitulation signed on June 24, whereby Glatz was to be yielded on July 26, if nothing had intervened meanwhile to save the place.

krenze,³²⁵ welche nur mit Kästlen bei dem Auffallen auf die Erde verstükt werden mussten.

So kam den alles in der schönsten Unordnung in das Lager zurück und jeder suchte bei angebrochenem Tage seinen Freund auf. Mit augstgepresstem Herzen suchte ich meinen Bruder und als er auch mich suchte fanden wir uns unbeschädigt: Da kann gewis jeder der sich Bruderliebe zu denken weis unsere Freude denken.

Als besagter Sturm vorüber war hiess es dass nächste Nacht abermal gestürmt werde wänn sich die Vestung nicht ergebe, was dann jedoch durch Verkündigung des Friedens unterblieb.³²⁶ Wänn jemand bei fürchterlichen Expositionen³²⁷ einen Zuschauer machen wolte und könnte, so ist die schönste Betrachtung bei einem Vestungs-Sturm zu vernehmen, was lange nicht bei einer Feldschlacht so merkwürdig sich dargiebt: Die in einer so grosen Zahl in der Luft kreuzende Bommen und Kranaden welche alle Feurig in der Luft schwöben, u: zerspringen, jedes in der Luft oder auf der Erde zerplazen, macht einen kleinen Kanonenknall, das langsame Aufsteigen jeder Kugel, das schnelle Niedersinken, auch öfters das in der Luft zusammenstossen, ist ein Anblik von rührender Schönheit: Anderst aber ist es bei denen Basskugeln³²⁸ welche Unsichtbar eines kleinen Gewischpers flügen,³²⁹ die Kranaden aber u: vielmehr die Bumpen benehmen sich in der Luft gleich einem Gayer der mit stürmenden Flügeln einem an dem Ohr vorbei jagt.

Nun blieben wir einige Tage noch im Lager, kamen sodann in Standquatiere in der Gegend bei Reichenbach und endlich alle 14. Tage wieder in eine nächste Gegend zu ligen. In der Samerszeit Jakob³³⁰ mussten alle Würtemberger aus Schläsien, über Frankfurt an der Oder, und bezogen unsere Standquatiere im

³²⁵ I.e., *Pechkränze*.

³²⁶ The results of negotiations between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander I, and with Frederick William III of Prussia, begun on June 25 with a meeting between the Tsar and Napoleon on a raft in the Niemen River, were the momentous Tilsit treaties of July 7 and 9. But Walter here evidently refers to the signing of peace preliminaries on June 24. This was announced at Glatz on June 30 at 7 P.M. The news naturally prevented the French from taking over Kosel and Glaz of the major Silisian strongholds, which

so-called pitch-rings, which could be put out only with small boxes as they fell on the ground.

So everyone returned to the camp in the "finest" disorder, and at daybreak everyone began looking up his friends. With fear-pressed heart I searched for my brother; and, as he was also looking for me, we found each other unharmed. Anyone who understands brotherly love can certainly imagine our joy at this moment.

When this attack was over, it was said that we would attack again the next night if the fortress did not surrender. This attack was not made, however, because of the announcement of peace. If anyone would or could be an onlooker at frightful explosions, he could get the finest view at a fortress attack, which is a more remarkable sight by far than a battle on a field. The bombs and grenades criss-crossing in the air in such great numbers, all floating like balls of fire in the air and exploding or bursting in the air or on the ground with a small cannon report, the slow ascent of each shell, the fast descent, often also a collision of them in the air — all this is a sight of moving beauty. It is different with the *Basskugeln*[?] which fly invisibly by with a small whisper. The grenades, however, and more so the bombs, behave like vultures in the air which race past the ear with storming wings.

We remained a few days longer in the camp, then came to a permanent camp in the region near Reichenbach, and were finally stationed every two weeks in another region. At Jacob's Tide[?] all the Württembergers had to leave Silesia, go by way of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and take up permanent camp in the Brandenburg district, especially the region around Berlin near Stargard, Fürstenwalde, Beeskow, etc.

had signed capitulations effective on July 16 and 26 respectively, and Silberberg, which had been under close siege since June 27.

³²⁷ In false analogy to other words in *-ition* Walter writes *Explosionen*.

³²⁸ The exact meaning of *Basskugeln* is not clear.

³²⁹ I.e., *Gewispers*, a derivative of *wispern*, "to whisper."

³³⁰ This expression is not clear: on the day of St. Jacob?

Brandenburgischen, namentlich in der Gegend vor Berlin, als Stargart, Fürstenwalde, u. Besko etc.³³¹

Hier blieben wir 11. Wochen lang bei diesen armen Bauern welche schlechter Gegend wegen nichts hatten an Lebensmitteln als Kartoffeln, Bohnen, und Schäpfenfleisch:³³² Da sie oft von der guten Speise sagten welche Sie uns geben mussten, äusserten sie sich, Sie glaubten wohl das bei uns gut Land sein müsse da wir mit so Besten Essen keine Schätzbarkeit uns bemerken und Gelüstigkeit halber ihre Schäpfen alle schlachten lassen.

Wann man die Unvermögenheit, dessen Ursache aushöben will, so ist meine Ersichtlichkeit folgender Art darzuthun: 1) Sind diese Leute noch ihren Edelleuten zu viel Frohnen schuldig u: zwar der Baron fordert von einem Viertels-Bauern (Kossetner)³³³ auf wochentlich 4. 5. bis 6. Tage seinen Knecht oder Sohn zur Arbeit, ohne Belohnung, so nimmt er eine Tochter auf 6. Jahre ohne Belohnung gleich dem Landesfürsten der den Sohn zu Militär nimmt, ein halber oder ganzer Kossetner hat gemessen seinem gut auch wieder mehr zu Frohnen, so giebt es noch sogar Dörfer welche dem Edelherren mit Frau u: Kinder 3. bis 5. Tag arbeiten müssen, der 4te 5te oder nur 6te Tag bleibt dann für sich zu arbeiten, bekommt aber für sich von dem Baron so viel Gut als er arbeiten will oder kann.

2) Ist das Feld nur leichter Sand das sogar, wann ausgeht ist, die Akerbette mit einer Pritsche geschlagen und vor Sand u: Samen abjagen befestigt werden müssen, ist also zu denken das nur Haber, Kartoffeln (Undeln)³³⁴ und Roken, selten aber etwas Weizen gebaut werden kann.

3.) Fehlt es auch an Kultur, namentlich an Körperlicher Kultur Lust zur Arbeit, Verstand und Religion: Selten geht jemand in die Kirche, nur so alte Mütterchen und Kreisse,³³⁵ das oft, wie ich sahe, der Prediger für 8. bis 10. Personen seine

³³¹ Stargard, 21 miles ESE. of Stettin; Fürstenwalde, 21 miles W. of Frankfort-on-the-Oder; Beeskow on the Spree, 17 miles SE. of Frankfort-on-the-Oder. — "Throughout the summer of 1807 the Württemberg division lay in cantonments in Silesia (headquarters Reichenbach) and later in the Mittelmark (headquarters Fürstenwalde) so as to be near an eventual new war zone." The time was used for much-needed drill. However, "despite strict oversight by officers there came after the conclusion of peace ever

Here we stayed for eleven weeks among these poor peasants, who because of the infertility of the region had no provisions except potatoes, beans, and mutton. In speaking often of the good food which they had to give us, they hinted that they believed we must come from good country, since we, having the best of food, did not show any appreciation of it and because of our appetite had butchered all their sheep.

For one who wishes to discuss the poverty and its causes, my observations are set forth in the following manner: First, these people still owe their noblemen too much socage service in that the baron demands a quarter-share tenant's hired hand or son to work for him four, five, or six days weekly without wages. Likewise he takes a daughter for six years without paying her wages just as the reigning prince takes the son for his army. A half- or full-share tenant has to serve more, in proportion to the size of his property; so there are still villages where a man with his wife and children must work from three to five days for the nobleman, the fourth, fifth, or only the sixth day remaining for him to work for himself. However, he gets as much land from the baron for himself as he wants, or is able to till.

Second, the soil is only light sand, so that when sown to seed the tilled patches must even be beaten with a lath and, to prevent the blowing away of sand and seed, must be pressed down firmly. Naturally, therefore, only oats, potatoes ("*Undeln*"), and rye, seldom any wheat, can be grown.

Third, there is a lack of culture, especially of physical training, of willingness to work, of understanding and religion. Seldom does anyone go to church, only old grandmothers and old men, so that often, as I saw myself, the preacher would read his

again loud complaints over the indiscipline of the men and over excesses committed." A. Pfister, *Württ. Kriegsgeschichte*, p. 356.

³³² Walter must have heard the word *Schäps*, NHG *Schöps*, "wether," in that region, since it is absolutely unknown in Swabian dialect. Cf. *Schwäb. Wb.*, VI, part II, 3036 f.

³³³ I.e., *Kossäte*, "cottager" (Low German).

³³⁴ I cannot identify this word.

³³⁵ I.e., *Greise*, a word which is not used very much in Swabian dialect. The following passage is another evidence that Walter was a devout Catholic. See p. 186, and note 19.

Feuertags-Reden (mit eben so Euferloser lust) vorlesen konte. Ich Erfuhr auch bei meinem Hauswirth, der einen Jungen hatte mit 11. oder 12. Jahr, dass selbiger nicht Lesen, Schreiben, noch Religionslehren konte, dazu gab mir ein dortligendes Buch Anlass zu wissen:

Als ich Las kamen die zehngebotte vor, ich fragte werden die zehngebotte auch den Kindern in Schulen gelehrt, der Wirth sagte ja, es soll gelehrt werden, allein mein Sohn kann Sie noch nicht auch nicht Lesen u: Schreiben, ich muss aber darauf antragen damit ers noch lernt. Da also diese Leute wenig gelehrt sind, auch sogar nicht wohl nach ihrer Religion, so diennen zum Hass gegen andrer Canfessionen ungristliche, und Kerzerische Bücher, worzu solche Leute schwach genug sind solchen Fabeln Glauben beizumessen, überzeugt habe ich mich als ich in solchem Buche gelesen, und nachher mit dem Wirth davon geredt habe, Ich machte also den Todengräber, Band einen Stein an dieses Buch, und versengte es in den grosen See.

Nachdem ich 3. Monat lang in diesem Ort gewesen reisste alles Chor nach Haus, der Marsch ging über Blauen, Nürnberg Bareit Anspach, Dünkelspiehl, und in Ellwangen erwartete uns der König, hielt dann mit uns Revie auf dem Schlossfeld daselbst,³³⁶ an diesem Tage war eine auserotentliche Kälte, was man jedoch wegen schon gewöhnter Kälte nicht als selten aufnahm. Bevor wir nach Ellwangen kamen übernachtete meine Kompagnie im Städtchen Wellingen das Altwürttembergisch ist,³³⁷ dort solten alle Fivat wegen der Grenze rufen, was sodan mit Fluchen wegen den schlecht erhaltenen Quatiren erwiedert worden ist. Dieser Feldzug ist also beendet und meine beide Schwestern und Freunde besuchten uns beide Brüder und das Wiedersehen war eine Freude welche als Geschwisterliebe nicht grösser sein konte.

³³⁶ An open space in front of the castle at Ellwangen. The Württemberg troops arrived there on December 21, 1807.

³³⁷ Weiltingen, a town in Bavaria, 5 miles SE. of Dinkelsbühl.

Sunday sermon for eight or ten persons with a similar lack of ardor. I learned also from my landlord, who had a boy of eleven or twelve years of age, that this boy could not read or write and did not know religious teachings. A book lying there gave me occasion to find this out.

As I was reading, I happened to run across the Ten Commandments. I asked whether the Ten Commandments were taught to the children in the schools. The landlord said, "Yes, they are supposed to be taught, but my son does not know them yet, nor can he read or write. I must demand, however, that he still be taught it." Since, therefore, these people are little educated even in their own religion, un-Christian and heretical books serve to make them hate other denominations, and such people are weak enough to believe fables of this kind. I became convinced of this as I read in such a book and afterward spoke of it to the landlord. Therefore I played the part of a gravedigger, bound a stone to this book, and sank it in the big lake.

After I had been in this village for three months, the entire corps journeyed home. The march went through Plauen, Nuremberg, Bayreuth, Ansbach, and Dinkelsbühl, into Ellwangen. The King awaited us and then reviewed us there on the Schlossfeld. It was extraordinarily cold on this day, although we did not consider this unusual, since we were already accustomed to cold. Before we came to Ellwangen, my company passed the night in the little town of Weiltingen, which is "Old Württembergian." There everyone was supposed to give shouts of joy at crossing the border, but this was followed by a good deal of swearing because of the bad quarters we were given there. This campaign was now ended, and my two sisters and friends visited us two brothers. The reunion was a joy which could not have been greater evidence of family love.

FELDZUG VON 1809.

Nach dem ich vom preisischen Feldzug an zerschieden³³⁸ in meiner Provesion arbeitete kam der Krieg 1809. mit Oestreich aus und ich wurde in die Garnison Stuttgart einberufen.³³⁹ schon waren mein, und mehrere Regimente auf dem Marsch nach Schorndorf und der Weeg solte über Baiern treffen, unterwegs aber eilte uns ein Kurrier nach, brachte den Befehl den andern Tag wieder zurik nach Stuttgart zu marschiren,³⁴⁰ und die Raute³⁴¹ wurde dann gegen Tirol an das Adlerbergische eingeschlagen, wir kammern dann über Hechingen, durch das Killerthal, über Saulgau, Alschhausen, und dem Kloster Weingarten,³⁴² dort hatten wir schon feindliche Bigete,³⁴³ jedoch noch Quartir und besonders viel Seewein.³⁴⁴

Als die Tiroler Insurgenten eine bedeutente Armee unter Verbündung Baden und Franzosen vernahmen zogen sie sich zurik, und wir von allen seiten vorwärts.³⁴⁵ Der Zug gieng dann über Ravenspurg und nach Hofen am Bodensee,³⁴⁶ der Feund zog sich mit manchen einslen Gefecht nach Lindau,³⁴⁷ und zuletzt in das Gebirk zurik.

³³⁸ Zerschieden is a "hyper-correct" form, used instead of verschieden. Since the Swabian dialect generally uses the prefix *ver-* where Standard German has *zer-* (and *er-*), Walter restores *zer-* even in cases in which *ver-* represents the standard form. Cf. Schwäb. Wb., VI, part II, 1125 f., O. Behaghel, *Geschichte d. dt. Sprache*, 5. Aufl. (Berlin-Leipzig, 1928), p. 219, E. C. Roedder, *op. cit.*, pp. 168 f.

³³⁹ As Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine Napoleon had required a summoning of troops in March, 1809, to meet an expected Austrian attack. Evidently the mobilization in Württemberg was general but without intent to include all units with the contingent formed by Generals Neubronn and Theobald for service with Vandamme as part of the allied forces. Thus when the troops marched to Bavaria on April 11, the Franquemont regiment was one of those purposely kept at home. There is no evidence that any unit was recalled while *en route* eastward. Nor was the Vorarlberg danger the first reason for this course. Apparently no attention was paid to that echo of the Tyrolese uprising before the last week of April, when border forays into Upper Swabia began to scare Baden, Württemberg, and Bavaria. And it was April 25 when Napoleon called on them for quotas for a border defense force which he was creating under the French officers Beaumont and Picard. King Frederick replied three days later that on the morrow he would dispatch the Franquemont and another battalion with some artillery, 1400 men in all. On May 2 — as he had promised — they had reached a defense line from Hofen to Altdorf and were pushing on outposts to Buchhorn, Ravensburg, Altdorf-Weingarten. This was approximately their position between May 9 and the reported yielding of the Vorarlbergers on May 20. The main activity during that time was a series of raids by the mountaineers on supply depots near the Lake of Constance. The Vorarlberg leader then was an innkeeper named Riedmüller.

³⁴⁰ On account of this change of orders these Württemberg troops did not take part in the major battles of the campaign of 1809.

CAMPAIGN OF 1809

While I was working in various ways at my trade after the Prussian campaign, the war with Austria broke out, in 1809, and I was called into the garrison at Stuttgart. My regiment and several others were already on the march to Schorndorf, and the route was to lead through Bavaria. On the way, however, a courier overtook us, bringing the command to march back to Stuttgart again the next day, and then we struck a route toward Tyrol through the Adlerberg territory. We came then through Hechingen, through the Killerthal, Saulgau, Altshausen, and then the Monastery of Weingarten. There we were already meeting outposts of the enemy, but we still had good quarters and especially a lot of wine from the Lake [of Constance].

When the Tyrolean insurgents heard of a large army reënforced by the allied Baden and French forces, they retreated, and we moved forward on all sides. The army then went through Ravensburg and to Hofen on the Lake of Constance while the enemy moved with several skirmishes to Lindau and finally back into the mountains.

³⁴¹ *Raute* renders the dialect pronunciation of *Route*.

³⁴² *Das Adlerbergische* most probably stands for *das (Vor)arlbergische* (as Walter writes in his second draft). Hechingen, in Hohenzollern, 31 miles SSW. of Stuttgart. Killerthal, the valley of the Starzel River, S. of Hechingen, after the name of the hamlet Killer between Hechingen and Gammertingen. Saulgau, 40 miles SW. of Ulm. Alshausen, instead of Altshausen, 8 miles S. of Saulgau. Weingarten, 20 miles N. of Lindau.

³⁴³ *Biget* renders the Swabian dialect pronunciation of German *Pickett*, "picket, outpost."

³⁴⁴ *Seewein* is the wine grown in the region north of the Lake of Constance, which in German is called Bodensee and in Swabia is often referred to simply as *der See*. Cf. *Schwäb. Wb.*, V, 1379.

³⁴⁵ Under their famous leaders — Speckbacher, Haspinger, Andreas Hofer — the Tyroleans maintained their brave fight against the numerically superior troops of the French and their allies — Baden, Bavaria, Württemberg — until they had to yield in November, 1809.

³⁴⁶ Ravensburg, a town in Württemberg, 22 miles ENE. of Constance. Hofen, a village and monastery, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century was combined by King Frederick with the town of Buchhorn, under the name of Friedrichshafen. See note 349 and *Schwäb. Wb.*, I, 1193 f.

³⁴⁷ The Vorarlberg forays of May 12-17 had various consequences. The insurgents had gained, without much difficulty, valuable supplies which were a costly loss to the South German states. Encouraged by their easy successes, they were quick to reopen the contest, coincidently with the new rising of Tyrol, which was marked, on May 29, by the victory at the Isel Mountain. The Insurgents menaced Stokach, Biberach, Kempten, and Memmingen, and thus frightened the French allies. A new Württemberg force was rushed to the front, under General Scheler. Baden contributed a small contingent. An

In Hofen lag dann auch das Regiment Lillenberg unter welchem mein Bruder Stand und wir trafen uns beide in seinem Quartier.³⁴⁸ Das wir beide Brüder unserer Zusammenkunft herzlich freuten ist zu denken, die Besorgnis einer für den Andern wegen Unglück war desto grösser, da wir uns dan selten wieder sahen und keiner den andern Schützen konte.

Nach besagter Zusammenkunft musste ich über Buchhorn³⁴⁹ und nach Lindau welche letztere Stadt auf einer Ensel der See ligt und ein holzerne Brike führt in dieselbe den Weg. In dieser Stadt mussten die Insurgenten wegen Besorgnisse eingeschlossen zu werden abziehen,³⁵⁰ das erste Batalion von meinen Regiment blieb 10. Wochen in der Stadt worin auch Franzhosen zu Pferdtt lagen,³⁵¹ unter dieser Zeit hatten wir mehrer Angriffe auf den Feund zu machen, unter welchen vorzüglich folgende gehen:³⁵²

Als ich auf dem Biget bei der Bleiche gegen Bregenz,³⁵³ auf meinen Vorposten stunde rückte der Feund über die Weinberge,³⁵⁴ die Vorposten mussten zurik auf das Biget, das Biget

ear was lent to Württemberg calls for cavalry aid, and the 17th regiment of French dragoons and grenadiers was dispatched under Colonel Grouvel. And these new troops under Scheler, not being part of the patrol force, were free from the inertia and peitiness that hampered General Koseritz in his defense efforts on the Bavarian border. Although the Franquemont regiment was usually quartered at Kempten, during May 14-15 Koseritz had to hold his defense line on the Schussen, from Hofen to Weingarten. Then Scheler came to relieve him at Hofen, which may have been the occasion when Walter met his brother, for the basis of Scheler's new force was the Prince Frederick regiment (Lilienberg).

³⁴⁸ See note 323.

³⁴⁹ Buchhorn, now Friedrichshafen, on the Lake of Constance. See note 346.

³⁵⁰ General Scheler at Hofen was quick to realize the key position of the near-by city of Lindau. Its value had been shown by the raid thence on Buchhorn, from where Rittmeister Bolte with a score of men had tried a counter-stroke the night of May 19/20 which nearly wrested the island from the Insurgents. So, when with the general submission, the Vorarlbergers on May 22 pillaged Lindau and retired to Bregenz, Scheler speedily moved his quarters over to the island (May 24-25).

³⁵¹ While Scheler was moving to Lindau, others were advancing into Vorarlberg to disarm and pacify it. Grouvel, having gone through Bregenz to Dornbirn, discovered signs of new unrest in the mountains and asked for help. Three Franquemont companies went to Bregenz and 400 Bavarians joined Grouvel, which enabled him to move toward Hohenems. But finding the mountains embattled, his army attacked front and flank, the Bavarians too drunk to be depended on, and part of his men captured, Grouvel had to retreat to Bregenz and the Laiblach, which Scheler, who had come to his support, was defending. During May 30 Scheler held the two roads from Bregenz to Lindau, but the next day he had to fall back to the defense line on the Schussen, while Grouvel, with the three Franquemont companies under Lt. Col. Lalance which had joined his retreat from Bregenz, now took over the defense of Lindau. The significance of this incident for us is that it brought Walter to Lindau with the Franquemont battalion under circumstances which he, surprisingly enough, fails to relate. Later Lalance made an effort

In Hofen the Lilienberg Regiment was also stationed, in which my brother served, and we met in his quarters. It is easy to imagine that we two brothers rejoiced heartily at our reunion. The worry of one of us about the possible misfortune of the other was so much greater because we could seldom see and never protect each other.

After the aforesaid reunion I had to go through Buchhorn to Lindau. This latter city lies on an island in the lake, and a wooden bridge leads into it. The insurgents had to move out of this city for fear of being shut in. The first battalion of my regiment stayed ten weeks in this city, in which French horsemen were also stationed. During this time we had to make frequent attacks upon the enemy, among which the following were especially noteworthy.

As I stood at my outpost with the picket near the bleaching meadow facing Bregenz, the enemy moved in over the vineyards. The outposts had to move back to the picket. The picket

to leave Lindau in order to rejoin his regiment under Koseritz, but he had to retreat before an advance of the Vorarlbergers, who, with Austrians sent from Tyrol to help, were moving to retake Lindau. Lalance was required to join in holding Lindau at all costs and was therefore shifted under Scheler's command.

³⁵² It is impossible to identify the Lindau episodes described by Walter with definite attacks on this city. The Lindau garrison had to repel persistent Insurgent efforts to regain the place. The first attempt was immediately after Grouvel and Lalance had retreated there, on May 31. But it was June 1 when the Vorarlbergers and Austrians sent by Chasteler came with cannon from Bregenz. When they attacked early on June 2, they were received so quietly at first that they pressed "gegen unsre 334 Schuhe lange hölzerne, jetzt halb abgebrochene Brücke." Then a sudden rifle-fire sent them rushing back to Bregenz with 25 wagons of wounded. — On June 8 Lt. Col. Lalance received a demand, mere bravado, to yield the town, to which he replied with a dignified firmness that may have delayed the expected assault. At any rate, it came only on June 13, as a consequence of a move by General von Phull. See note 359. Another vain effort was made by the Insurgents about June 19-20. The actual attack on the city's advanced posts lasted from 5 A.M. on June 20 until after noon. Admitted Vorarlberg losses were one killed, five wounded, one taken; Lalance had four hurt. Yet Lindau was again molested during forays against depots on the Lake of Constance about June 27-29, the last date being that of the attack on Lindau with a three-pounder. Perhaps the enlarged munitions supply sent to the town by a lake flotilla was one reason Lindau was spared further threats during the remaining five weeks of effective conflict.

³⁵³ *Bleiche* is a place or meadow where linen is bleached. Cf. *Schwäb. Wb.*, I, 1192.

³⁵⁴ The lack of preciseness in Walter's account of the attacks on Lindau is to be noted here again. A comparison of the few details of Walter's story of the first attack with the verified incidents of June 1-3 shows no similarity between the events. Other evidence indicates a later date for the building of the redoubt. See note 357. With regard to the fighting of June 19-20 and June 28-29 it may be noted that according to other sources in each case there was a skirmish before the redoubt at the bridge-head on the mainland.

Feuerte u: der Feind rikte heran, als jeder feuerte wie er seine Stellung nehmen konte, stellte sich alles hinter das Bleichhaus und verteitigten sich, ich aber um sicherer auf den Man halten zu können, sprang in ein vorwärtsgelegene Bleichhitte von Bretter gebaut, von ausen gieng eine Stiege hinauf und auf diese Stelte ich mich und legte mein Gewehr auf das Gelehnter³⁵⁵ auf wo ich auf jeden Mann halten konte, unter der Zeit als ich meine 60. Batronen biss auf etliche 20. verfeuert hatte, gieng es immer wie ein langsamer Kieselregen³⁵⁶ auf meine Hitte zu und der Feund kam zu nah an mich; Nun sprang ich über die Stiege herunter, über die Wiesen nach dem Biget zurik, welche aber alle schon in die Stadt zurik ritterirten; nun hatte ich durch Gärten u: Heken zu springen, und der Feund kam nur ein wenig späther als ich, vor das Thor, worbei das schnaufen mich beinahe erstükte.

Da sich alles von uns in die Stadt gezogen hatte, blieb der Feund 3. Tage vor der Stadt, mit immerwehrendem Feurn, wir aber hatten einen Brikenkopf (Schanz) errichtet von lauter Sandsäke, einen Graben, und spanische Reither,³⁵⁷ dur³⁵⁸ die Schussscharten und von dem Wal wurde mit Kanonen u: klein Gewehr gefeuert, unter dem vielen Schüssen habe ich einen vor einem Gartenhaus erschossen, der etwas gegen der Schanz herunter kam und auf die Schussscharte, abzihlte, als ich allein geschossen und plötzlich gestürzt ist wolten die mehrere diesen Toden abholen, was öfter unternommen wurde, wie ofen es geschah, desto mehr wurden wieder getroffen. Endlich wurde mit Kanonen gefeuert, in die grose und schene Garttenhäuser hobizen geworfen und alle in Brandgestekt, am 3ten Tag konte sich der Feind wegen Grossgefeuer nicht mehr halten und zog sich in das Gebirk zurik.

Sobald die Strasse frei war wurden die im tausend nach in den Gärten stehende Bäume samt den schönen Buxheken,

³⁵⁵ Misspelling of German *Geländer*, which Walter wrongly associates with *lehnen*, "to lean," owing to the dialect pronunciation of *Gelender* with close e. Cf. *Schwäb. Wb.*, III, 257 f.

³⁵⁶ *Kieselregen*, a word used frequently in Swabian dialect, instead of the Standard German *Hagelsturm*, "hailstorm," especially in the region near Ellwangen, according to

fired, but the enemy approached. While each soldier fired wherever he could take a position, everyone stationed himself behind the bleaching house and took up the defense. To be able to aim better, I ran into a bleaching hut built of boards which lay well forward. A staircase went up from the outside, and I stationed myself on this, resting my rifle on the railing, where I could take aim at every man who approached. During the time while I was firing forty out of my sixty cartridges, the bullets kept raining down like hail upon my hut, and the enemy came too close upon me. Now I sprang down the steps and across the meadows back to the picket, which, however, was already retreating toward the city. Then I had to jump through gardens and hedges, and the enemy came to the gate just a little later than I did. I almost choked, gasping for breath.

When all of us had retreated into the city, the enemy remained outside the city three days, firing continually. We, however, had erected a bridge-head (breastwork) of sandbags and a trench and defensive iron spikes. We fired through the loopholes and from the wall with cannon and small guns. During the heavy shelling I shot a man in front of a garden house as he came a little way forward toward the breastwork and aimed into the loophole; but, after I shot and he suddenly fell, several others wanted to carry off this dead man, as was often done; however, the more openly it was done, the more often other men were hit too. Finally we fired with cannon, throwing projectiles into the large and beautiful garden houses, setting them all in flames. On the third day the enemy could no longer hold out, because of the heavy artillery fire, and moved back into the mountains.

As soon as the road was cleared, the trees standing in the gardens were cut down by the thousands, along with the beauti-

the *Oberamtsbeschreibung Ellwangen*, p. 196.

³⁵⁷ Although King Frederick of Württemberg criticized the waste of ammunition during the skirmishes about Lindau, he gave orders that Lalance, its commander, should continue the defense of the city and that he should be amply supplied with ammunition. Following these orders, Lalance tried to increase the military strength of the city by building various fortifications in front of the bridge. Cf. F. Him, *Vorarlbergs Erhebung im Jahre 1809* (Bregenz, 1909), p. 153.

³⁵⁸ *Dur* is used generally in Swabian dialect, instead of *durch*. Cf. *Schwäb. Wb.*, II, 479 f.

welche wie Mäuren hoh schön dastunden, abgehauen, und die Gebäude follens eingerissen, das dem Feuren keine Hinternisse mehr in dem Weg stunden, was der Stadt einen Schaden von einer Million Gulden beibrachte.

Nach Verfluss einer Zeit wurde wieder ein allgemeiner Angriff unternommen, worzu das Regiment Lillenberg, Bodenzer u: Franzosen, und die Scharfschitzen kamen³⁵⁹ der Feind wurde vor Lindau angegrifen und wurden auf der Ritterade in das Gebirk zurikgetrieben, vor dem Angrif forderte man freiwillige zum Blinken vor³⁶⁰ wozu auch ich mit gieng, alle von die Zahl war 160. Mann unter der Anführung eines Leutnants, unter wehren den Feurn wurden bei der Verfolgung ungefehr 50. Scharfschitzen von uns Abgeschnitten und Gefangen in das Gebirk geführt,³⁶¹ alles von uns Freiwilligen tringte sich zur Hälfte den Berg hinauf welcher 2. Stunden lang von Lindau entfernt war, um die Gefangen wieder zu erobern, als wir sahen das die rikwärts angezogene Kollonen nicht mehr nachkamen, die Mitte sich vertheilte, und unser Komando $\frac{3}{4}$. Stunden zu weit eingekickt ist, hörten wir das Feuren weit links u: weit rechts, als gegen Kemten,³⁶² und rechts gegen Pregonz³⁶³ zu wass dan eine Wendung zur Ritterade bei unsern Leuthen schien, wass auch dem so war, jetzt wolte der Leutnant sich mit uns zurikziehen, woriber alle Schimpften und immer noch die Gefangene aus dem Gebirk hollen wolten; der Leutnant gab nicht nach und wir mussten

³⁵⁹ This surely is an account of the "reconnaissance" of June 12-13 toward the Laiblach, a consequence of the general strengthening of forces in Swabia immediately upon knowledge of the sudden new uprising of Tyrol and Vorarlberg, and the forced retreat of Grouvel (May 29-31). The alarm was greater because Napoleon's critical position after Aspern-Essling led him to call for all available reserves. Baden sent more troops to Wangen, the Bavarian King sent Deroi to his borders, King Frederick of Württemberg rushed additional forces under General von Phull and went himself to Biberach for some days. But when a Tyrolese force attacking Kempten was cut to pieces (June 7-8) and the Vorarlbergers failed to attack Lindau (June 8) the King left. Now Phull was in command over Koseritz and Scheler, with some 5500 men and 760 horses. He undertook a reconnaissance toward the Laiblach in the night of June 12-13, with two columns of some 450 infantry and some cavalry. In one column were two companies of the Prince Frederick (Lilienberg) regiment. In the other (under Scheler) were Franquemont men from Lindau and some Baden and French grenadiers. This column took the shore road going into the hill land, where they skirmished with Insurgent outposts between Lindau and the Laiblach. Yet, owing to increased Insurgent numbers the two columns had to retreat under circumstances very similar to those described by Walter. By noon the Württembergers were back within their double defense lines, but the following attack on

ful box hedges which stood there tall and beautiful like walls, and the rest of the buildings were completely torn down, so that they would not be a hindrance to the shelling any more. This inflicted a damage of one million florins on the city.

After a time we again undertook a general attack, for which the Lilienberg Regiment, Baden and French soldiers, and the sharpshooters joined us. The enemy was attacked in front of Lindau and was driven in retreat back into the mountains. Before the attack volunteers were called upon to advance by skirmishes, and I went with them. The number was 160 men in all, and we were under the command of a lieutenant. Under the continual firing about fifty sharpshooters were cut off from us during the pursuit and led captive into the mountains. All of us volunteers pressed halfway up the mountain which was two hours distant from Lindau in order to recover the captives. When we saw that the columns advancing behind us were no longer following but were dividing in the middle and that our detachment had moved three-quarters of an hour too far away, we heard the firing far to the left and far to the right as though it came from Kempten and, to the right, from Bregenz. This seemed to be a turning of our men into retreat, which assumption proved to be true. Now the lieutenant wanted to retreat with us, but we all complained at that and still wanted to bring back the captives from the mountains. The lieutenant would not give in, and we had to go back to a little village at the foot of the mountains. When we came into this village, we were

Lindau lasted until 3 P.M. Losses were heavy, and one account says that 13 wagons of casualties were brought back. Cf. A. Pfister, *Württ. Kriegsgeschichte*, pp. 370 f.; F. Him, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-218; A. von Schlossberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-171; *Berlinische Nachrichten*, June 24, 27, July 4.

³⁶⁰ *Blinken* with *i* instead of *ä* is "hyper-correct," used instead of Standard German *plänkeln*.

³⁶¹ This incident has not been found in other available sources. But it is quite similar to the incident of the capture of Lützow and his men on May 29, which most strangely Walter has failed to relate in its proper place. It is possible, therefore, that Walter has combined his recollections of the two episodes. However, Him (*op. cit.*, pp. 215-217) does mention that when Phull ordered the retreat his center had pushed too far ahead and so Phull had to leave his right far advanced in order to protect the center.

³⁶² Kempten on the Iller, in Bavaria, 51 miles SSW. of Augsburg.

³⁶³ Bregenz in Austria, at the eastern end of the Lake of Constance, 8 miles SE. of Lindau, was a chief city of Vorarlberg.

zurück in ein Dörfchen unten am Berg, als wir in dieses Ort kamen wurde von den Häusern und Gärten aus auf uns gefeuert, und unsere Armee war schon zur Hälfte wieder gegen Lindau ritteriert, alle mussten dann sich auf die Füße verlassen, und unter grossen Feuern umschlossen hatten wir zu laufen das uns die Luft hätte ersticken können, das ganze Chor trafen wir dann in einem Eichwald eine halbe Stunde vor Lindau wieder, hier wolte man sich halten was aber wegen Umschlüssung von Insurgenten nicht sein konnte.

Jetzt gieng der Zug biss nahe an die Stadt langsam zurück und dann wurde die Stellung wieder zum Feuern genommen. Hier wurde eine halbe Stunde aufgehalten, alles feuerte so viel man konnte, die Kanonen wurden vorgeführt und das Kartatschenfeuer half auch nichts, indem der Feund eine Halbmondlinie bildete und nur wenig getroffen werden konnte, dan Sie legten sich auf den Boden, hinter die Heken, Bäume und Higel und konten die zusammengepresste Kolone von uns alle Schuss drefren. Endlich fielen von uns zu fiele Leuthe und der Feund nahte sich dem Stadthor um alle abzuschneiten, was dann die Ritterade in die Stadt beförderte.

Bemerkungswerth war der Zustand der Bauren welche die Wagen führen mussten die Verwundete aufzuladen, welche gleich beim Angrif mit fahren mussten; Es waren bei jedem Wagen 4. Mann u: jeder Wage mit 4. Pferd bespannt, sobald das Feuern Angieng mussten sie bleiben, da sahe man keinen mehr aufrecht auf den Pferden alle legten sich darauf u: auch die auf dennen Wagen mit dem Grössten Heulgeschreu: worzu Sie auch noch wegen ihrer Furcht, Schläge bekamen.

Unter dieser Zeit als ich bei Lindau war, stand das 2te Battalion von Frankenmond³⁶⁴ bei Wangen u: Isni,³⁶⁵ welchs ganz

³⁶⁴ Since Walter's time at Lindau from May 30 to August 6 covered the most crucial period of the war, it is well — even as he seems to feel — that the Lindau incidents be correlated with events elsewhere. And in noting these other events we shall be able to clarify Walter's allusion to the experiences of that second battalion of the Franquemont regiment left with Colonel Röder under Koseritz at Kempten, while Lt. Col. Lalance was kept at Lindau under Scheler. — The position of Napoleon on Lobau Island after Aspern-Essling (May 21-22) until he got off through a trick and won the battle of Wagram (July 9) and concluded the armistice of Znaim (July 12) was so critical that it affected

fired upon from the houses and gardens and our army had already retreated halfway toward Lindau. Everyone then had to rely upon his legs; and, amid much firing, we had to run until we almost choked for want of air. We met the whole corps in an oak wood a half hour out of Lindau. Here we wanted to take a stand, but could not because of the danger of being surrounded by insurgents.

Now the detachment retreated slowly until near the city, and then took up again the position for firing. Here we held out for half an hour, everyone firing as much as he could. The cannon were hauled out, but the grapeshot fire did not help either, since the enemy formed a half-moon line and only a few could be hit, for they lay down on the ground behind the hedges, trees, and hills, while every shot of theirs could hit our compressed column. Finally too many of our men fell, and the enemy drew near the city gate in order to cut everyone off; this hurried our retreat into the city.

Noteworthy was the state of the peasants who had to drive the wagons to pick up the wounded and who had to come right along at the time of the attack. Four men and four horses were hitched to each wagon. As soon as the firing began, they had to stay with us. From then on, none of them could be seen sitting upright on his horse: they were all lying down on their horses, and those on the wagons flung themselves down amidst a fearful howling. In addition, they were given blows because of their fear.

During this time that I was at Lindau, the second battalion of the Franquemont Regiment, which was stationed at Wan-

adversely the situation of his German allies. The reopening of the conflict in Tyrol and Vorarlberg has been noted already. See note 351. We have also mentioned the counter-measures down to the maneuver of June 12-13 by Phull. The result of his withdrawal was the encouragement of the Insurgents to undertake new forays about June 16-20 and June 28-29, which were well organized and coordinated under the new leadership of Dr. Schneider. Moreover, threatening invasions from Würzburg and from Bohemia and risings in the newly gained territories had so seriously reduced the border patrol that the simultaneous raids of June 19-20 against Kempten, Wangen, and Lindau were indeed dangerous. However, the raiders were driven back quickly as they were also when they seized Constance by a sudden stroke on June 28-29, and coincidentally struck at Lindau, Tettnang, etc. Then another series of forays was tried about July 4-5 at Oberndorf and at Kisslegg, Bergatreute, and Wolfegg (where men of the Franquemont regiment saved

gefangen gemacht wurde, später hin wurde es Fried und wir marschirten dan in Breginz, einer Stadt oben an dem Bodensee ein.³⁶⁶ Das Einzihen in diese Stadt wurde denoch etwass feindselig betrachtet, indem zur Sicherheit mehrere Regimenter über das Gebirk von der hintern seite u: die von Lindau ankommende von der fordern seite herrikten.³⁶⁷

Besonders wurde das Regiment v: Lillenberg schon früher nach einer Eroberung der Stadt, wieder zur Fluht gezwungen,³⁶⁸ indem, werend die Soldaten in Kellern Häusern nach Beute sich umsahen, der Feund in die Stadt rikte, und alle durch den ingen Bass, welcher an dem Berg mit 3. Thore versehen ist, hinausgetrieben hatte. Bei diesem Vorfall hätte der Feund seinen Vorthail besser benützen sollen; statt dass Sie sich vertheilt zum Angriff schikten, solten Sie die 3. Bässe besser Besezt u: alle zu gefangen gemacht haben, wehrend Sie nur zur Flucht ihres Feindes von den Bergen auf den Bass herabgeschossen und nicht die Thore stark genug besezt hatten.

Als nun der schon erwehnte Einzug in Bregenz began, so war noch grosse Unordnung unter dem Millitar,³⁶⁹ dass einbrechen

the day). But King Frederick rushed another concentration in Upper Swabia, going himself to Weingarten. He took personal charge from July 13 to 18, when the Vorarlbergers struck in two series of incursions. One band attacked at Eglofs and Eisenharz (July 14-15), and at Neuravensburg and Wangen (July 16-17), all places within Scheler's lines; another was directed against Koseritz at Isny (July 15), Buchenberg (July 16), and Immenstadt (July 17), when Röder's Franquemont men valorously saved the day. These were the most effective and dangerous of all Vorarlberg raids, but they were also the Vorarlbergers' last serious threats. For the saner counsels of Dr. Schneider were spurned, the rash leadership of Riedmüller being preferred. Guerilla fighting was attempted and a Franquemont detachment lost seriously in wounded and captured from the affair of August 9-10. See note 371. However, the decisive blow was the taking of Bregenz on August 6, which was made effective by the period of Württemberg occupation during the autumn months.

³⁶⁵ Wangen in Württemberg, 50 miles SW. of Ulm. Isny, 12 miles E. of Wangen.

³⁶⁶ This cannot mean the Peace of Vienna (Schönbrunn), which was concluded on October 14, 1809. Instead, Walter refers to the armistice of Znaim of July 12, 1809.

³⁶⁷ About the middle of July the King of Württemberg was relieved from dangers of internal risings. He returned with strong reinforcements to Upper Swabia, still menaced by the Vorarlberg Insurgents, who refused to consider the armistice of Znaim as binding upon them. Although Beaumont had found a plausible excuse for not carrying out his agreement of July 15 with King Frederick for a joint movement against Vorarlberg on July 17, the King had not given up the idea. He was fully supported by Napoleon, who assured him of Beaumont's coöperation. August 4-6 was set as the date when Napoleon hoped that Frederick would be master of Bregenz and Vorarlberg. Although in open disregard of this agreement Beaumont withdrew needed cavalry, Frederick carried out his part successfully. After some days of dealings with the chief of the Vorarlbergers,

gen and Isny, was made completely captive. Later peace was made, and we marched into Bregenz, a town up on the Lake of Constance. However, the entrance into this city was looked upon as a somewhat hostile move. For the sake of security several regiments coming from the mountains entered it from behind, and those from Lindau moved in from the front.

Indeed, the Regiment of Lilienberg had once before been forced to flee after a conquest of the town. It happened in this way: while the soldiers were looking about for booty in the cellars and houses, the enemy moved into the town and drove everyone out through the narrow pass in the mountain, which has three outlets. On this occasion the enemy should have pressed their advantage. Rather than rushing dispersed into the attack, they might better have occupied the three outlets and made captives of everyone. Instead, they only fired down from the mountains at their fleeing enemies in the pass, not having occupied the outlets strongly enough.

When our before-mentioned entry into Bregenz began, there

Dr. Schneider, the Württembergers advanced under Crown Prince Wilhelm. They were in three columns: General Scheler with his brigade came from Wangen (*über das Gebirg von der hintern seite*), Koseritz from Oberreitnau (*von der fordern seite*), while Prince Paul with the reserves stayed near the Laiblach River. After a strong reconnaissance patrol had been sent ahead, the main body of Württemberg and Baden troops, some 5000 men, marched toward the town. It was little after 7 A.M. of August 6, but as early as 3 A.M. the Insurgents had left for Feldkirch. So when the troops entered about noon, they met no resistance. There was little to do, therefore, but disarm the citizens, send their Austrian allies as prisoners to Bavaria, and seize Dr. Schneider. Then, having left a detachment of some 30 men behind, Prince Wilhelm marched back with his army and sent a courier from Lindau to report his success. Cf. A. von Schlossberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-213; *Corresp. Nap.*, vol. XIX, nos. 15583, 15591, 15669, 15675, 15685 f., 15691; A. Pfister, *Württ. Kriegsgeschichte*, p. 378; F. Him, *op. cit.*, pp. 339 ff.; *Berlinische Nachrichten*, *Moniteur*, *Publiciste* for August 1-20, 1809.

³⁶⁸ No supporting evidence for this story has been found. Quite likely it is another distorted echo of that brief occupation of Vorarlberg in May so surprisingly overlooked by Walter. See notes 351 and 361. It will be recalled that Grouvel had with him half of a Prince Frederick (Lilienberg) company in his advance to Bregenz, Dornbirn, and beyond, and that many of these men under Lieutenant Lützow were captured during the unlucky reconnaissance of May 29 toward Hohenems. But the men at Bregenz who had to flee were those of Walter's own Franquemont battalion with whom he went to Lindau. Not unlikely they had been at the wine, as Walter intimates.

³⁶⁹ Cf. F. Him, *op. cit.*, p. 340: "Dass bei dieser Truppenhäufung im engbegrenzten Raume des Städtchens Ausschreitungen mannigfacher Art nicht fehlten, ist nur zu leicht begreiflich. Geld, Wein und Lebensmittel wurden erpresst, mancher Kaufladen geplündert; selbst den Offizieren gelang es nicht überall, den beutelustigen Marodeuren zu wehren." In the near-by village of Sulzberg four Württemberg cavalrymen drank as much as 14 quarts of wine at one sitting!

in die Keller, und in Gelten den Wein heraustragen war allgemein, sogar mehrere Fässer blieben laufend alles berauschte sich, biss am Ende ein strenger Befehl es endete. Besonders wurde viel ganz dik rother Tiroler wein getrunken und alles hatte man im Überfluss. Da nun der andere Tag herankam und alles die Quartire bezogen hatte wurde es ruhig und das Eigenthum der Bürger wurde gesichert.³⁷⁰

Ich lag gegen 3. Wochen³⁷¹ daselbst bei einen Kamminfeger mit noch 9. Mann u: alles hatten wir, als Wein und Kirschenwasser was ein jeder drücken konte, nach verfluss 3. Wochen wurde mein Regiment verlegt nach Dornbiren, welches ein grosser Markfleck war, und im Reinthal zwischen der Schweiz und Tirol lag,³⁷² in diesem Flecken kam ich zu einem Kirschner welcher Man noch bei dennen Insurgenten war, die Frau hatte ein kleines Kind, ungefähr $\frac{3}{4}$ Jahr alt, dieses Kind hatte eine sonderliche Schönheit womit ich auch meine Freude hatte.

Einsmals gab ich diesem Kind etwas Brandwein zu trinken, das Kind nahm ihn nach und nach gerne so das es ein Räuschen bekam und lustig wurde das man selbes vor dem hinabschnalzen auf dem Küssen heben musste, wass dan ein Spass ausmachte und dem Kind nichts schadete. In diesem Quartir blieb ich wieder gegen 3. Wochen und im ganzen Ort waren die Leute recht gut.

In diesem Ort und der Gegend haben die Haussbewohner mehrere Mägte, welche von der Tiroler Alb waren, diese sind besonders in der Kleitung ausgezeichnet so, das alle schwarze Reke samt dem Oberkleid an einem Stük, und mit einer menge Falten umher bestanden, dann eine grosse schwarze Müze auf dem Kopf welche eben wieder ausserortentliche Falten hatte, und

³⁷⁰ All reports agree that there was quiet and order in Bregenz on August 7. Then Beaumont appeared with Count Reisach, Bavarian Commissioner, to claim the fruits of victory. The operations of forces under Scheler and Prince Paul against other points in Vorarlberg were stopped and on August 8 Prince Wilhelm was notified to evacuate the region, as Beaumont was in full charge. After a counter-demand for the return of the Franquemont regiment under Beaumont had been curtly refused, all Württemberg-controlled troops were called within that kingdom's borders and the King protested bitterly to Napoleon. As a result Beaumont and Picard were rebuked and superseded by General Lagrange, who was to work with and under the Württemberg command in Vorarlberg. For Napoleon also insisted that Württemberg reoccupy Vorarlberg and the Bavarian

was once more disorder among the soldiery. Cellars were broken into, and wine was carried out in buckets everywhere. Even several kegs were left running. Everyone became intoxicated until finally a strict order put an end to all this. We drank especially a great deal of very thick red Tyrolean wine, and we had everything in abundance. When, however, a new day arrived and all had moved into their quarters, everything became quiet, and the property of the citizens was safeguarded.

I stayed there almost three weeks at the home of a chimney sweep, together with nine other men, and we had everything, in particular as much as we could drink, wine and cherry brandy. After three weeks my regiment was moved to Dornbirn, which was a large marketing center lying in the Rhine Valley between Switzerland and Tyrol. In this town I came into the house of a furrier, who himself was still with the insurgents. His wife had a little child about three-quarters of a year old. This child was remarkably beautiful, and I, too, had my fun with it.

Once I gave this child some brandy to drink. Little by little the child took a liking to it, so that it became a bit intoxicated and so gleeful that I had to keep it from falling down from the pillow; this was great fun and did not do the child any harm. I stayed another period of about three weeks in these quarters, and in the entire village the people were very friendly.

The householders in this village and the surrounding region have several maids who come from the Tyrolean Alps. These maids are especially remarkable for their dress. All their black skirts are of one piece with the bodice and have a great number of pleats all around. Upon their heads they wear large black caps, which likewise have curious pleats and are large and round

border and finish the work of pacification. Cf. A. von Schlossberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-211.

³⁷¹ In accordance with Napoleon's assurances of August 14 we learn, by news of August 22, that Beaumont had left for Munich. Then Lagrange retired to Kempten, and on August 28 the Württemberg forces reoccupying Vorarlberg returned to Bregenz. Since meanwhile most of the Württemberg troops had been recalled and disbanded, leaving Koseritz only about five battalions for the entire border patrol, the Vorarlberg task apparently fell chiefly to the Franquemont regiment. The regiments' stay in Vorarlberg seems to have lasted during the period stated by Walter.

³⁷² Dornbirn in Vorarlberg, 6 miles S. of Bregenz.

der Form war gleich einer Bihnenkurbe gross u: Rund, besonders haben diese Mägte schöne und rothfarbige Gesichter welches von dem Milch und Kees essen herkommen solle. In der Menschenfreundlichkeit aber haben Sie nichts vor sich indem sie Scheu und wenig gesprechlich sind, umso mehr bewiesen Sie es auch gegen ordentliche Soldaten, besonders mir Bekant da ich 2. solche im Haus hatte und oft der Fall sich gab, dass wänn sie schon am Essen sassen und ich mit ihnen einen ehrbaren Spass hatte, sprangen sie von dem Tisch aus dem Zimmer, und alle hatten wieder zu thun dass sie wieder kamen.

Wass die Gegen in der Fruchtbarkeit an sich hatte giebt es nicht viel roggen noch Dinkel, desto mehr aber Welschkorn, besonders ist das Brod gewöhnlich von lautern Welschkorn, sieht man das Brod an, so glaubt mann es wäre von feinsten Kernen, im Essen aber ist es rau, schwer und mazig.³⁷³ Das Holz ist auch nicht wohlfeil, und statt dessen wird im ganzen Reichnthal³⁷⁴ Dorf gegraben; das ist, Wasenerden, welches grau roth ist, selbes wird gestochen aufgesetzt, und im Luft und der Sonne gedört, dann im Ofen statt dem Holz gebrannt.³⁷⁵

Unter dieser Zeit, als vom Fruhjahr bis im Herbst hatten wir immer die grosse schneeberge vor und zuletzt um uns, besonders sah man jedesmal wänn es Regnete, auch in der grössten Hize im Augst: das ein 3teil der Berge, von oben an mit neuem Schnee, herunter bedekt war.

Im Monat Octob: gieng der Marsch wieder nach Haus³⁷⁶ und die Routhe führte über Wangen, Rafenspurg, Aldorf, und Waldsee, von dort nach Biberach,³⁷⁷ wo alles einige Zeit bleiben musste, und in die umliegende Dörfer einquatirt wurde. Ich kam auch auf ein Dorf zu einem wohlhabenden Baurn welcher eine Schwester hatte die eine Klosterfrau war und zu Haus lebte, als ich einige Tage mehr malen in Büchern gelesen und die

³⁷³ *Mazig*, according to *Schwäb. Wb.*, IV, 1528: "Nicht ausgebacken, nicht ausgekocht, von Mehlspeissen, Kuchen und dgl. Noch zu nass, von neugebackenem Brot. Ellwangen (Stödtlen)."

³⁷⁴ Misspelling of *Rheintal*.

³⁷⁵ The description of the general conditions of that region and of the peculiar costumes there is accurate.

³⁷⁶ The two regiments of Prince Frederick and of Franquemont left Vorarlberg about

like beehives in form. These maids have especially pretty and rosy-colored faces, which is said to come from eating milk and cheese. As to sociability, however, there is not much to say for them, since they are shy and not very talkative. They showed this even more toward orderly soldiers, as I know from experience, since there were two such maids in my house. It often happened, when they were sitting at their meal and I would joke with them decently, that they would jump up from the table and run out of the room, and then it was difficult to get them to come back again.

Regarding the fertility of this region, there is not much rye or German wheat, so much the more corn, however. The bread in particular is usually of nothing but corn. When you look at the bread, you believe that it is made of the finest kernels. When eating it, however, you notice it is coarse, heavy, and soggy. Wood is not cheap either; and in place of it in the entire Rhine Valley they dig peat, that is, sod which is a grayish red. This is cut and piled up, dried in the air and sun, and then burned in stoves instead of wood.

During this time, from spring to fall, we always had the great snow-capped mountains before, and later around us. Every time that it had rained, even in the greatest heat in August, one could see that the mountains were covered with new snow to a third of the distance down from the top.

In the month of October, we again marched homeward, and the route led through Wangen, Ravensburg, Altdorf, and Waldsee, and from there to Biberach, where we all had to stay for some time, being quartered in the surrounding villages. I also was assigned to a village and to the house of a well-to-do peasant who had a sister, a nun who was living at home. Since I would

the middle of October; but they stayed several weeks at Biberach (among them Walter) or at Stockach or at Radolfzell. Most of the Württemberg soldiers did not get home before November 16. This is confirmed by newspaper dispatches of November 21 and December 1 (*Moniteur*). Cf. F. Hirn, *op. cit.*, pp. 368 f.

³⁷⁷ Wangen, see note 365. Ravensburg, see note 346. Altdorf, i.e., Altdorf, was what is now called Weingarten; see note 342. Waldsee, 32 miles SSW. of Ulm. Biberach, 23 miles SSW. of Ulm. — The following story illustrates once more Walter's devout Catholicism. See p. 186, and notes 19, 335.

Klosterfrau aufmerksam gemacht wurde über mein benehmen, fragte Sie mich warum ich dann immer Lese und so nachdenkent seie, sagte ich; meine fruhere Verhältnisse geben mir Anlass dazu.

Da ich immer mehr ihr zu gefallen suchte vermehrte ich ihre Achtsamkeit auf mich und Sie fragte dann Andere über meinen Zustand. Nun dachte ich es ist eimal angefangen es muss auch noch weiterkommen; ich beredete alle im Dorfe gelegene Kamuraden sie solten mich theils Miller, theils Walter, und auch Kapuziner heissen, wass dann geschah, Nun sagte mir die Klosterfrau jezt weis ist wohl woher ihr Andächtiges Lesen komt, Sie darfen mir es wohl gestehen, so dann machte ich ihren den Willen u: sagte; dass mein Bruder ein Pfarrer und ich ein Kaputziner bruder gewesen seie und ich meine Keischheit schon verlobt hatte, auch hatte ich statt Walter Miller geheisen was mir die schadenfrohe Soldaten immer nachredeten, beweis habe Sie hier von meinem Bort den ich hier am Kihn noch beibehalten habe.

Jezt waren diese fromme Haussleuthe ganz für mich betauert und die Klosterfrau erzehlte mir ihre ganze Klostergeschichte auch und hielten mich vor allen andern Soldaten Lieb — so das der alte Hausswirth Threnen weinte besonders als ich fortgieng weinte Er mit den Andern, unter dem Verlangen ich solte doch über meinen weitem Zustand, wänn ich Sie Liebe, auch in der Fernne berichten, Sie wolten mich mehrere Stunden hin u: abführen.

Nach verfluss 1810. u: 1811. als ich im Jahre 1811. bei Hofwerkmeister Häfele, Kannenwirth in Ellwangen,³⁷⁸ meinem Firmdaten³⁷⁹ war kam abermals Krieg aus.

³⁷⁸ See note 256.

³⁷⁹ *Firmdate* instead of Standard German *Pate*. Cf. Schwäb. *Wb.*, II, 1513: "Firmdate; katholisch wohl allgemein." *Ibid.*, II, 290 f.: "Dote Taufpate und Patenkind." Similarly *Oberamtsbeschreibung Ellwangen*, p. 194.

read books frequently on certain days and the nun noticed my behavior, she asked me why I always read and was so thoughtful. I said that my former circumstances gave me occasion to do that.

Since I kept trying to be pleasant to her and was able to draw her attention more and more toward me, she asked others about my situation. Now I thought that since this thing had been started it must be carried on. I spoke to all my comrades located in the village, saying that they should call me at times "Miller," at other times "Walter," and again "Kapuziner." This was done. Then the nun said to me, "Now I know, indeed, where your devout reading comes from. You may as well confess it to me." So then I did her the favor and told her that my brother had been a priest and I a Capuchin monk, that I had already vowed my chastity, and also that my name had been Miller instead of Walter, which the malicious soldiers always applied to me. I finally told her that she had evidence here in my beard which I still wore on my chin.

From now on, these pious hosts were very sympathetic toward me, and the nun told me her entire cloister story, and they had a liking for me above all other soldiers, so much so that the old father wept tears. Especially when I left, he wept with the others, begging that if I loved them I should inform them of my future fate in distant places. They even wanted to accompany me for several hours.

After the years 1810 and 1811 had passed by and I was, in 1811, at the house of my godfather, Hofwerkmeister Häfele, the *Kannenwirth* at Ellwangen, war once more broke out.

HISTORICAL APPRAISAL OF WALTER'S CHRONICLE

By FRANK E. MELVIN

By long-approved practice, writings recovered from the past are usually given an historical introduction to the public. This practice sagely recognizes that such writings have become identified with the past, or by virtue of their age have themselves a past; hence they need to be viewed historically. First, caution requires that the trustworthiness of the document be validated by tests of historical criticism. Then, curiosity asks that the content of the document be elucidated and appraised by the aid of special historical knowledge. The need of such a commentary is most obvious where the nature or motive of a document is inherently historical, or where historical factors have influenced its findings and publication.

In the testing of historical evidence a first question, regularly, is how it came to light. The story of the finding of the Walter manuscript is related here for this reason. However, the story has significance for yet other reasons. The chance which brought it to light should suggest the possibility of other discoveries under like circumstances. That it should have turned up when it did, and where it did, shows the persistence of such material even in Kansas. Indeed, because of the unity and reach of Europeanism, which has contributed to the peopling of the inmost region of America, the discovery of sources for European history and culture may well be expected anywhere. The finding of such new records is a normal feature of historical study, with its constant exploring of the abundant mysteries of the past. The thrill of uncovering such treasure-trove is most often the reward of tireless research, but it can come as a chance by-product of routine teaching. Such was my experience in the autumn of 1932 in connection with a course in Nineteenth-Century European history. The introductory lectures had stressed the revision of current notions of the historical situation at the opening of the century, hence had dealt with the downfall of the first Napoleonic empire, and thus incidentally had involved some reconsideration of the tragic campaign of 1812 in Russia. Necessarily

much stress was laid upon the restudy of sources and the importance of new material, such as had been ferreted out that summer in European archives. Thereby a member of the class was led to tell of a reputed diary of the Moscow retreat, a treasured heirloom of a near-by Kansas farmstead, and thereafter I had an opportunity to examine the document.

A first critical examination of the heirloom showed that it was a German soldier's account—partly in two versions—of campaign experiences during 1806 to 1813, under Napoleon. With it was a letter of family information written in 1856 by the Napoleonic veteran to an emigrant son in America, whose grandson, Mr. Frank Walter of LeCompton, Kansas, is at present heir of the papers. It was possible to separate, and put in order, the several versions and portions of the narrative, and to give a report upon this and the letter. But since the narrative was written in old script and in dialect, the edition of the manuscript had to wait upon the coming to the University of Kansas, from the very locality of the Swabian soldier, of Professor Otto Springer. He received with enthusiasm information about the Walter manuscript, and his special knowledge and assiduity have now resulted in the publication of the Walter story.

The circumstances having thus placed historical responsibilities for the Walter manuscript upon its discoverer, the first concern has been to apply tests of historical validity in so far as handicaps of distance and lapse of time would permit. On the point of authorship, family tradition affirmed that the Jakob Walter of Ellwangen in Württemberg, who wrote the paternal letter of February 17, 1856, to his son Albert, in America, was the same Jakob Walter who wrote the accounts of his Napoleonic war experiences. This tradition was presumably confirmed by the script and style and internal evidence of the papers themselves. A proper chance for supplementing this evidence seemed to be offered by the wish of the Kansas descendants to reestablish communication with German kindred. Dr. Springer took up the task of securing the fuller data. Through the German Embassy at Washington and the Army Archives at Stuttgart the

identity of the soldier Jakob Walter was established, and incidental reference was made to his having received an 1812 service-medal. Efforts to obtain direct information from Ellwangen, however, brought disappointingly meagre results. The last of the kindred whose age and situation might have afforded knowledge of personal details had recently died. The Ellwangen city officials from their records could supply little but family-registry information, which largely confirms, and slightly amplifies, the data found in family letters at Lecompton.

Despite certain discrepancies in our data it can be assumed that Jakob Walter was born in 1788 in the village of Rosenberg near Ellwangen. In one version of the 1806 campaign his age is given as nineteen, but our letter of 1856 gives his birthday as May 21, 1788. In the registry record September 28, 1788, is given for his birth; August 3, 1864, for his death. His parentage is recorded: Johann Walter of Rosenberg and Eva Dietz of Bartenstein. His wife, to whom he was married on February 11, 1817, was born on May 22, 1799, and died on April 28, 1873. There were ten children from this union, five of whom were living in 1856 when the letter of that year was written. In 1858 a daughter died, and in 1861 a son. The registry does not record the deaths of the two sons who had emigrated to America or the death of the last surviving daughter in Ellwangen. All the evidence agrees that Jakob Walter was trained as a stonemason, and in 1856 he was still working at his trade as a contracting builder or overseer. He was a strong Catholic and his narrative implies that he had at least a parochial schooling. However, on this question as on almost all personal matters other than military experiences actual information is lacking.

The sons who emigrated to the United States were Franz Patritz, born in 1831, and Albert, four years younger. Franz emigrated in 1849 and was for a time at New Orleans. In 1854, at Lima, Ohio, he took out naturalization papers. Then in the spring of 1856 he settled in Douglas County, Kansas, at the territorial capital of Lecompton. He made a visit to the homeland in 1857, and during his visit married the daughter of the mayor

of a village near Ellwangen. This event happened on February 22, 1858, and the fact that the day was Washington's birthday was mentioned in the wedding sermon. That same year he returned with his wife to Kansas, where on January 14, 1898, at Lecompton, his death occurred. It was on the return of Franz Walter in 1858 from Ellwangen, according to family tradition, that the accounts of the father's campaigns were brought to Kansas, as were also the parental portraits, one of which, representing the veteran at the age of fifty, is reproduced by Professor Springer in this publication.

Regarding the manuscript itself, questions arise which might be dealt with more satisfactorily if we knew more definitely the circumstances of the bringing of the Jakob Walter manuscript to Kansas. A basic question is whether we are dealing with a unique original document, entrusted to but one member of the family, living remote from the common home. Unfortunately for the answer to this and other various pertinent queries we are forced to depend mainly upon deductions from the format, script, and internal evidence of the document itself. These inferences, however, do warrant fairly certain dicta regarding the "original" character of the Walter chronicle. It is a document of some 200 pages, about eight by six inches in size. It is handwritten and a number of exacting studies of the script, involving a comparison with available signed letters, indicate that Jakob Walter was the writer throughout. He apparently used a letter paper of ordinary rag stock without watermarks, mostly handruled with pencil. The document was not bound or fastened together as a whole; instead it was organized as some eight or nine units, composed of a variant number of double sheets, each unit sewed in simple notebook fashion by the author. Naturally this arrangement disregards the division of the story into three campaign episodes, told as units, and having separate titles, but not deemed sufficiently distinct to require starting each campaign on a fresh page. Actually all the units save one, when put together, constitute a complete story as here published. The additional unit of 48 pages seems to be the starting of a second draft or "re-

vised version" of the chronicle, covering the first and most of the second campaign, written somewhat more precisely and with some variations in the choice of details. It was not deemed practicable to publish it here; but its existence is mentioned because its presence with the other version suggests that Franz probably was given all his father had written of formal recollections. It also has pertinence to the questions why and how Jakob Walter wrote his story.

A strict limitation of theme and a degree of formality about the Walter chronicle suggest that it was not written merely for himself or for the benefit of a few relatives. Particularly the unfinished second version seems by its attention to forms, as in the title, the marginal and interpolated headings, the evident verification of data, insertion of matter of footnote character, etc., to imply a notion of its circulation or publication. Yet, quite disappointingly, there is no word about the author's motives or the circumstances of the writing, which seems surprising to one who considers the ordinary practice of soldier narrators at that time. Others are likely to tell how and when they came to put their experiences on paper. Some explain whether they reproduce an actual diary or present a memoir wherein recollections are checked by contemporary jottings, maps, books, etc., and talks with former comrades. Walter starts abruptly with his being drafted, in 1806, for his first campaign, although the second version does mention his birth date a sentence or so later. The link between campaigns is a brief casual allusion to work at his craft. Finally after a hurried account of illness and recovery, which followed his Russian experience, he tersely concludes: "I obtained my discharge and had myself driven home, where I then in a short time became entirely fit and well." And in his haste to finish, Walter fails even to date his work.

It is on the basis of meagre data, therefore, that we follow up our inquiry as to the origins of Walter's manuscript. Where was it written? His reference to going home in 1813 might offer a clue. Yet it is uncertain what he referred to as home. If he had living parents they are not mentioned. His unnamed brother

and two sisters evidently were dear to him. The brother's home in 1813 is unknown; the sisters, one of them married, lived at the paternal village of Rosenberg. His godfather, who had provided him with a trade, kept an inn at Ellwangen where Jakob Walter mentions staying at times. Yet would conditions at Rosenberg or at the inn have encouraged the young invalided soldier with his training as a stonemason to become an author forthwith? Would not circumstances have been more favorable after he had married, fixed his home at Ellwangen, and found his place in civil life? This opens the question of when, between 1813 and its removal to Kansas in 1858, Jakob Walter's undated narrative was actually written. Where the range of time is so long, naturally the possibility of arguments for various dates is large. There are reasons for noting some of these arguments, hereafter, for the light they throw upon the value of Walter's contributions, but it seems best, at the outset, to state that it is most probable the chronicle was written at a date between 1820 and the early 1840's and not unlikely around 1830.

The argument which weighs against a dating after 1840 is the argument of the effects of advancing years on memory and facile composition. Thus, in Walter's case, a letter written to a son in 1848 is in a cramped hand quite different from the generally easy, flowing script of his military recollections. On the other hand, the case for a dating prior to 1820 rests primarily upon the freshness of the narrative, its vivid detail, and its general reliability, especially in its geographic data, even where obscure Polish and Russian places are mentioned. These are characteristic features of the 1812 story, and the accounts of the campaigns in 1807 and 1809 are also vivid, and, in places, surprisingly accurate. To be sure, circumspect analysis does show that the time-factor need not have affected greatly the strength of Walter's memory for certain types of data or experiences. In any case maps and some other source material must have been used for checking assertions and spellings. Also there are some factual lapses throughout, as demonstrated in my historical annotations for each of the three campaigns, and these are most

noticeable for the 1809 campaign, which was fought almost at home and only three years before the Russian campaign. Is not this surely a point bearing upon the hypothesis of an early writing of the chronicle—a point which cannot be discounted easily? The complete silence regarding events after 1812 presents another difficulty. If Walter wrote before 1820, it was during the course of such a crowding train of events as must have affected the thinking of anyone recounting Napoleonic war-memories. The War of Liberation in Poland and Germany had begun before Walter's return to Württemberg at the end of February, 1813. When, after some weeks of critical illness from typhus, he got his final discharge, the spring campaign in Silesia, Saxony, and parts of Prussia, so familiar to him, was already opening. The great events of the summer, and the fateful autumn battles around Dresden, Reichenbach, and Leipsic, were in regions he knew well. He cannot have been untouched by the events which in 1814, and again in 1815, marked the overthrow of Napoleon, and the coincident reshapings of Germany and all Europe down to 1820. The probable speed of Walter's writing must of course be taken into account. We can hardly assume that he composed rapidly, considering that he lacked training and favoring conditions, that at the outset he had to find his place in civil life, and that he was working at a tiring trade which would afford little incentive or leisure for authorship. It is unlikely that our manuscript is the very first draft, for the revisions are relatively few and are in the nature of retouchings of an established version. It is also significant that we have both a basic version and part of a revision. Besides, our manuscript does reveal by its changes of pen, ink, and script that it was written by stents, with attendant interruptions. There is, indeed, an obvious singleness of purpose about the narrative which may indicate a predetermined exclusion of all matter or allusions not absolutely pertinent to Walter's own military experiences. This is admirable, but its very rigidity suggests it is the outcome of an experimental period of writing or retelling of his experiences during which his story was gradually clarified and given a definite form. The natural con-

clusion is that our Walter manuscript is a product from the time 1820-1840, which was a period of relative quiet for men of maturing years and with some craving for the respect of their posterity. Then, while the "great era" was being seen with better perspective, personal memories of that era were taking shape and color, and Napoleonic war veterans were publishing enough to refresh memories and afford useful data and literary models for other veterans, such as Jakob Walter.

Military reminiscences have formed a notable and prolific category of historical sources ever since the *Anabasis* of Xenophon and the *Commentaries* of Julius Caesar. Yet it is doubtful if for any military era the memoirs of veterans have been more numerous than for the Napoleonic wars. The value of each such memoir therefore lies not in its rarity so much as in its relativity—that is, the fact that these memoirs can and must be appraised by comparison with one another. Much critically edited material is available for any student wishing to test the historicity and the relative interest or actual contributions of every such chronicle. The Walter narrative thus must be evaluated relatively to other typical veterans' recollections of the same time. Outstanding examples of such Napoleonic memoirs, often reissued by able editors in many lands, are the *Cahiers* of Captain Coignet, the *Mémoires* of Sergeant Bourgogne, and the *Erinnerungen* of Surgeon-Major von Roos, which he first issued under the title *Ein Jahr aus meinem Leben*. All three, as the titles indicate—like the vast majority of the other accounts by such Napoleonic veterans—were composed from memory. Captain Coignet of the Old Guard, who served continuously from 1800 to 1815, was of lowest origin, could not write until thirty-three (in 1809), and composed his "notebooks" from 1848 to 1850. The trustworthiness of his recollections is commonly recognized and applauded. The 1812 memoirs of Bourgogne—another typical product of the French revolutionary era—are among the most vivid we have, truly stranger than fiction. Yet the notable British military historian Fortescue in his introduction to an English edition of 1926, after urging caution in dealing with this type of source, declared:

"But—there are reminiscences which, however startling, bear upon them the unmistakable mark of truth, and among these must be ranked those of Sergeant Bourgogne." They were composed in 1835, on the basis of notes made when the author was a prisoner, in 1813 and afterwards in 1814. The work by Dr. Roos, which takes highest rank among those by Germans, was enthusiastically edited in 1911 by the noted Professor Paul Holzhausen, and translated by a comparable French authority, Colonel Buat. It had been originally published at St. Petersburg, in 1835, by Roos, who says it was written solely from memory, at intervals, apparently from 1814 to 1832.

These few examples have been cited as outstanding illustrations of how Walter may well have proceeded. Although we have no positive evidence on the point, it is a logical inference, and highly probable, that he too recounted his experiences primarily from memory. Possibly some letters or other scraps from the 1807 and 1809 campaigns had been preserved by relatives, but this seems unlikely. Letters were written home during the Russian campaign; Arthur Chuquet published a volume of such French letters. Some diaries kept during the retreat were saved. Most notable examples are the journals of Castellane and those of Caulaincourt. The Westphalian staff-officer Lossberg's story of 1812 was concocted from both letters and diaries that he sent home ahead of him. All such instances, however, so far as known, involved officers, almost all of them men of rank and culture. Walter's is the unique example of a private soldier. It is doubtful if he wrote home during the entire 1812 campaign. He admits his kindred got word of his home-coming only by indirect report. Yet, though he had no personal papers to use, this circumstance need not exclude the chance of his having had access to other Moscow-campaign sources. It is well known that local newspapers for some years after 1812 carried notices of various sorts and even printed accounts of incidents connected with the campaign. We know that several important survivors of the retreat were fellow-citizens of Jakob Walter for years. Surely there were reunions of veterans or other chances for com-

paring experiences. Maps were available; possibly even route-lists were extant. In time there were published narratives of the Russian campaign; a few appeared from 1814 to 1820, but not in German. A smattering of personal recollections came out during the 1820's, the 1830's, and the 1840's, including some written in German and published in Germany, although it is doubtful whether most of them, if any of them, would have been known to Walter. But there were two notable exceptions, both published at near-by Stuttgart. In 1831 appeared the famous work of Fabre du Faure, *Blätter aus meinem Portefeuille im Laufe des Feldzuges von 1812 in Ruszland an Ort und Stelle gezeichnet*. Moreover, in 1822 J. C. Cotta had published a now rarely cited work by Moriz von Miller. This was entitled: *Darstellung des Feldzugs der französischen verbündeten Armee, gegen die Russen im Jahr 1812, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Teilnahme der königlich-württembergischen Truppen, mit Benutzung aller vorhandenen und mehrerer bis jetzt unbekannt gebliebenen Quellen*. It was issued as a quarto volume in two parts, with an atlas, in folio. Miller seems to have published also a technical work in 1833 at Freiburg, Baden.

Significantly the Walter manuscripts show evidences of the insertion of place names, distances, etc., after the original writing. The underlining of many names, especially of Polish and Russian towns, suggests also that words so marked had been filled in, or at least verified, by the use of such a work as Miller's. I regret, therefore, that the Miller work was not available for checking with Walter's chronicle. However, one may doubt whether safe deductions could have been drawn from applying such critical tests to a document like ours, which from careful inspection seems to be not an initial draft but a meticulous copy. Certainly it is written with remarkable care, and alterations are relatively few. That it evidently was not deemed definitive, our partially finished "revised" version demonstrates. But the revisions do not change our initial assumption that Walter wrote primarily from memory.

What, then, of Jakob Walter's memories? The question

forthwith shifts our point of attention. We turn from a critical inquiry regarding the origins of our document—the issues of authorship and sources, of time, place, and method of writing—to an analysis of its content; from a consideration of its authenticity to an examination of its reliability. Our procedure may well be by a comparison of the accounts of Walter's three campaigns. On a first reading there may seem to be little difference in the historicity of these accounts. Certainly one would hardly expect that the difference of but three to six years would cause a marked variation in the dependability of one's memories. The natural assumption, then, is that if there are marked differences in the quality of the three stories, this must be owing to factors other than the mere differences in elapsed time. Walter's actual age during each campaign must be considered in connection with the fact that the difference of interests, and thus of experiences, at each particular age must result in different sorts of memories. In this connection one must bear in mind the influence of strong, abnormal experiences in the rapid maturing of youth. Thus Walter himself, writing as if from the vantage point of more than just six years, speaks of the youthful irresponsibility of 1806. The story of 1809 reflects a sort of mocking recklessness. The strange combination of piety and casual *saue qui peut* indiscipline of 1812 is something quite different still. There are other general differences in the accounts, due perchance to the less observant age of Walter during the earlier campaigns and to his greater indifference at the time, or perhaps to an intentional subordination of the earlier part of his military service to the more vital experiences of 1812.

If we turn to the issue of factual accuracy we shall find that a comparative test for the three campaigns yields surprising results, which incidentally bear little or no relationship to factors likely to guide us in dating the Walter narrative. Broadly speaking, the 1812 story, which we are best able to check because of the mass of other evidence, best meets the tests of good history. It hangs together best, and has most factual detail and fewest errors. That is not strange, of course, as it was Walter's last

campaign, although his story of it affords no sure clues as to how recent it had been. What is strange is that the story of 1809 is least satisfactory historically. It is least coherent and its recital of events is most tangled and inexact. Yet it gives more fresh evidence, apparently not elsewhere available, than does the 1812 narrative, and its details are sometimes more precise and important. It is also significant that it deals with an episode regarding which secondary works are generally silent. Also such personal memoirs as are most abundant for 1812 are here lacking, and available official materials are relatively meagre. For testing purposes, therefore, dependence has had to be placed upon a type of evidence less available for the 1812 critique, that is, newspapers and local monographs. For testing the 1806-1807 narrative, available sources were newspapers, personal (official) correspondence, some memoir material, and some special studies. Such material has shown that, in part, Walter's recollections for this time are quite confused, but to a considerable extent are more vivid, more detailed, and surer than those of his two later campaigns. As further demonstration that the historicity of Walter's memories is not clearly relative to the closeness of events may be cited types of detail almost equally dependable for each of his campaigns. Specific proofs could be given illustrating these generalizations, but it seems superfluous to repeat here what I have been able to explain better in certain historical footnotes. Particularly is this the case for the campaigns of 1807 and 1809. Citation of typical examples from the Russian campaign, however, may contribute to the appreciation of that most vital portion of the Jakob Walter manuscript.

The amount of specific detail in Walter's narrative of 1812 is rather surprising. To be sure, much of it is of experiences of sufferings deeply scarring the memories of all survivors, and often the incidents and ideas in different accounts are so very similar that one would suspect borrowings of one narrative from another or from a common model were not proofs of originality incontestable. But there are authentic details peculiar to each individual narrator. In the case of Walter it is a memory of dimen-

sions and of construction details, as natural for a builder to retain for an indefinite time, as a long memory of horses and transports was for Coignet, or the memory of minutiae of his hospital cases was for Roos. This type of recall is equally noticeable, just as is the surprising recollection of route-of-march details and place names and data, in each part of Walter's narrative. In the narrative of his movements there are a few serious lapses. These are less serious, but more numerous, for 1812, but then the route was far longer and more complicated. A remarkable feature of his narrative for 1812, surely, is his recall of amazingly difficult names of very minor places. But this feature must be interpreted with caution. Many of us can testify to life-time recollections of ordinary travels, even down to small details. Walter's campaigns probably marked the full scope of his travels. They were made within those years of his life when memory presumably is most impressionable and most retentive. He lived only some fifty years thereafter, within which time, it is not illogical to say, his "travel-memory" should have been reliable. The Moscow campaign was indelibly memorable as have been few episodes of history. Its route is traced, with natural variations, in detail, by most of the recitals of its survivors. Many of them are accompanied by maps, a few by atlases. Most extraordinary for minutely photographic recollection of all route details are the *Bourgogne Mémoires* of 1835, when the author had reached an advanced age. True, *Bourgogne* had his notes of 1814 and 1815 as controls, but indications of the use of some verifying data by Jakob Walter have been cited already. Even so, Walter is not impeccable. He has corrected some slips, made in writing or copying, where sections of his route were out of time or place sequence, but has overlooked some others. Examples of such often very natural confusion are in his narrative of his moves just before and after the Beresina crossing, also his account of the sector just east of the Niemen both on his advance and retreat routes. While his memory for names of obscure places has been cited as remarkable, it is sometimes a confusing factor. Thus footnotes, based on use of Napoleonic marching orders and on

other detailed researches, have been needed to amplify and clarify Walter's itinerary through East Prussia. Because his route missed the larger places, usually, and because as a common soldier he did not know the strategy controlling his movements, his lists of century-old village names, often without essential dates, are a cause of grief to his readers. In his use of dates Walter is as dependable as any of his comrades who did not keep diaries. Events which he connects with memorable days—such as church holidays—he dates accurately, even as others do. His use of round numbers is apt to be careless. A greater weakness, however, is a tendency to omit dates entirely, and this tendency underlies the confused accounts of his movements during the first months of 1807 and during the Vorarlberg campaign in 1809. Yet the net result of the critical analysis reflected in this discussion of the historicity of the Walter chronicle has been to impress the writer—and he hopes the reader—with its general reliability as historical evidence. Veracity, however, is but one test of the value of a historical document.

In beginning this introduction, I referred to the peculiar circumstances of the bringing to light of the Walter narrative as suggesting reasons why it should be of special interest. For one thing it is highly suggestive, for those interested in our European cultural background, that even in Kansas documents of the Napoleonic era—and also of the Thirty Years' War—have turned up in this fashion. Secondly, there is interest and significance in the fact that the Walter chronicle was brought to Kansas in early territorial days, because heretofore study of the peopling of this central commonwealth has concerned itself so generally with the struggle of free- vs. slave-state elements that foreign factors in the population at so early a stage of Kansas history seem to have been neglected. Evidently the Germans have played a larger part in molding the eastern section of the state than has been realized, and it would be profitable to know whence and why they came and what they actually contributed. However, the publication of the Walter manuscript has been prompted chiefly by other motives, above all a realization of the interest and value

of its contents for students of language and history and for the general reader because of its intrinsic human interest.

The inherent appeal of that type of writing to which the Walter chronicle belongs has already been noted. The number of such memoirs of Napoleonic war veterans, published since 1900, and still appearing despite the competition of the World War and its literature, is remarkable. Perhaps their very mass has been a magnetic factor in increasing the number of such narratives. Perhaps the dictum that anything about Napoleon finds a waiting market may help to explain their publication. Certainly Napoleonic literature does often have the vogue of best-selling novels, a somewhat recent instance being the Caulaincourt *Mémoires*, translated into several languages, the periodical syndication of which seems to have been due largely to the lengthy account of the Russian War and its tragic effects. Indeed, many Napoleonic war memoirs cover primarily the Moscow campaign: the theme is intrinsically great drama, regardless of the narrator. Naturally, then, because of the very volume of this literature new additions must face such comparative tests of veracity and interest as we have already applied to the Walter narrative. But a new narrative is expected to have other particular claims of interest. The Walter manuscript does have these — both literary and historical. Its special claim, however, is that it is seemingly unique among the mass of 1812 narratives as the personal record of a German *common soldier* in Napoleon's Grand Army. But while it is largely devoted to the Russian campaign there is a broader scope and point to what its second version entitles *Beschreibung von Jakob Walter, seiner Militär-Dienst-Zeit und Drey Feldzüge*. For it is actually the record of a conscripted private of a Napoleonic vassal-state. Presumably he is typical of his group, the more so because his "military-service-time" covers practically the full period of the New Charlemagne's domination of Germany and most of Europe.

When Jakob Walter was born in 1788, there was newly arriving at the drab artillery post of Auxonne, in Burgundy, a lieutenant, aged nineteen, just back from extended home-leave in

Corsica, obsessed with dreams of a career in his native island. Before Walter in his nineteenth year was on his first campaign, the ambitions of Napoleon Bonaparte had vastly changed, as had his world. Rejected by Corsica, he had been dragged willy-nilly into the current of the French Revolution. Made colonel and general in 1793 for recovering Toulon for the Republic of the Convention, he had by his whiff of grapeshot in 1795 insured the shift to the Directory. Having won potency for the "Oligarchic Republic" and military-diplomatic prestige for himself by notable campaigns in Italy, Egypt, and Syria, he had returned in 1799 for the overturning of the Directory. Victorious again in Italy and Germany in 1800 against a Second Coalition, he had, as First Consul of the "Dictatorial Republic," salvaged the Revolution and reconstructed France. Having pacified and partly reformed Europe, he was chosen Life Consul in 1802, and in 1804 Emperor of the Republic by a grateful nation. Again he had been challenged by England, which had formed with Russia and Austria a Third Coalition. This he had broken in 1805 at Austerlitz, and thus had humbled Austria a third time. Then, having ended the farcical Holy Roman Empire and become Protector in 1806 of a Rhenish Confederation of new-made kingdoms such as Württemberg, he had turned with the support of vassal contingents to break a Fourth Coalition of Britain, Russia, and Prussia in 1806-1807. And with the Württemberg contingent there marched, as conscripts, the stonemason Jakob Walter and his brother.

In 1807, at Tilsit, a victorious peace terminated the "first War in Poland" and partly restored a Polish state. The five years thereafter until the second Polish War in 1812 were the era of the High Napoleonic Empire. It is marked throughout by policies of the Russian alliance and by the economic conflict of the Continental System. This blockade system, though actually effective in bringing Britain to secret terms, was partly responsible for disastrous interventions in Portugal and Spain, for another Austrian War in 1809 (a Fifth Coalition), and for further European revampings. The apogee year was 1810. Then

Napoleon had widest realms, most allies, and fewest foes. His regime seemed most effectual; his policies, most promising. Then, also, came that final personal validation his ambition had craved, marriage and political alliance with Austria's imperial house. But exultation was brief; nemesis worked tragically fast. In 1812, as an American newspaper put it, he yielded to foes unknown before, General Distance and General Winter. The spell of his seeming invincibility was broken. Holy Russia was saved by Providence, said Czar Alexander, who heard the mystic call to save Europe also. The Sixth Coalition of 1812 became the Grand Alliance of 1813-1814, and the Wars of Liberation ended with the Campaign of France, the abdication and exile of Napoleon. To be sure, 1815 saw the exile's return for a Hundred Days; but Waterloo was inevitable, an ironic confirmation of those acts of European reconstitution being framed coincidentally at the Congresses of Paris and Vienna.

Against the colorful intensity of this contemporary background must be set Jakob Walter's simple record. The sober contrast may surprise any reader having viewpoints already formed by historical hindsight or with expectations warped by cinema and radio "re-creations." The chronicle is so free from the wittingly dramatic or romantic, so devoid of personal animus. Even Napoleon is rarely named, and then casually and with hardly a tinge of emotional coloring. Once only — and thus with more effect — is there a bitter reference to the Emperor in Walter's account of the Moscow retreat. Equally characteristic of the chronicle, throughout, is the surprising opacity to reflections of coincident events or trends. Though Walter's religious background is unassertively obvious, his political or social biases are quite unknown. Logical, practical motives may well explain this rigidly simple treatment. The strictly autobiographic theme may even be indicative of a dominant self-concern, such as may seem to be carried to heartlessness in his saving himself at all odds during the retreat, as in the final leaving of his master Major von Schaumberg. Yet possibly the indifferentism has a general rather than a merely personal significance. For instance, the

Olympian unconcern of Goethe toward the Liberation-War emotionalism may have been shared by many more of his compatriots than we have assumed. Similarly Walter's unresponsiveness to coincident events may be a faithful gauge of how little the average German small-state subject of the early Nineteenth Century knew or cared about current affairs. In short we may justly say that its very restraint and realistic simplicity attest the validity of the Walter narrative, and emphasize its significance as historical evidence, as well as for human interest.

The factors of Jakob Walter's personality and background have merited emphasis here. They are essential considerations in reading, with full appreciation, this relation by Walter of the military experiences of his three campaigns. He was merely a builder's helper, when called up with many like him, in the conscription of 1806, for "the campaign which the Emperor Napoleon with the princes then his allies was conducting against Prussia." This passage (omitted from the second version) is the extent of "political" allusion in the manuscript. Evidently when his regiment marched off in the fall, the Jena-Auerstädt battle (October 14) had just demolished the façade of Prussian potency. There was little for the new auxiliaries to do, after Frederick William had sought the safest corner of his realms, except clean up the remnants of unyielded defenses, in Silesia and Pomerania. During the shifting of forces between these two provinces parts of West Prussia were crossed by Württemberg regiments; but they had no part in the big fighting of the Eylau-Friedland campaign, were never exposed to the kindling close-influence of the major leaders. The Walter brothers did their bit in the marchings and requisitionings incidental to various sieges and sorties here and there. Jakob had small chance and less incentive to discern any obvious scheme in the campaign. The incidents he best remembered were rowdy pranks. For the poor discipline of certain Württemberg units was such that the king at the home-coming review addressed them as his brigands. Moreover, when in 1812, the humiliated Crown Prince had to notify his father of his troops' disorders on the Prussian-Lithuan-

ian march, which had earned Napoleonic wrath, he recalled their misconduct of 1807 in Silesia. Nevertheless those especially interested will find some enlightening contributions regarding the futile Colberg and Glatz sieges, and the general reader will enjoy some vividly portrayed sortie incidents. Quite incidentally also Walter slips in some sound observations on the condition of Jews and peasants in Poland and Brandenburg. They illustrate that personal revelation which will be found the primary appeal and significance of the document.

From the end of 1807, when Jakob Walter went on leave to be with his sisters at Rosenberg, he worked intermittently at his craft until recalled to active service in the Austrian War. Again he missed the major conflict; again he served in a side campaign too much underrated by historians. His contingent was sent to the Alpine frontier to repel attacks of insurgent peasants who were fighting to get back under their old Hapsburg rulers. Therefore, instead of sharing in the Ratisbon campaign of April and the May-July battles (Aspern, Wagram) near Vienna, the Walter brothers were only in local brushes at the Vorarlberg corner of the Lake of Constance. As the second and fuller version of this campaign is incomplete, we have but a scrappy account of Walter's experiences. It shows him as more mature and taking a more soldierly part, as being more interested in people, folkways, and rural economy, perhaps as less devoutly Catholic. The disorders of his contingent seem to have changed likewise. There is little boyish rowdyism but some drunken rioting — despite their being on their own borders. Fortunately the campaign was not long, and after some garrison months Jakob Walter could again return to civil life and his trade at Ellwangen for something over two years.

Early in January, 1812, Württemberg reservists were "re-drafted" by their units. In March they were heading cheerfully through Thuringia and Saxony for Frankfort-on-the-Oder, where, as the Twenty-fifth Division, they became part of Marshal Ney's Third Army Corps. The march thence was via Posen to the Vistula at Thorn, and by a rather southerly route (via the Masur-

ian Lakes) to the Niemen frontier, at a crossing close by Kovno. The course was forebodingly marked by hardships and disorder. After the entry into Russia (Lithuania), about June 25-26, most of the Grand Army proceeded through Vilna on south-easterly roads toward Smolensk. But the corps of Davout, Oudinot, Ney, and Murat had the task of sweeping the country west and north, behind the Russian armies of General Barclay de Tolly, retreating toward an entrenched camp at Drissa. This took Walter through a flat pineland, with dunes and swamps and lakes. There frightful weather, and failure of supply measures, brought hunger, thirst, decimating disease, marauding, and desertion. Having crossed the Dvina at Disna, these troops, in turn, moved southeastward, on the Polotsk-Vitebsk road, fighting *en route* a few sharp engagements. Late in July at Vitebsk the reduced Twenty-fifth Division was reorganized as three brigades and put directly under Generals Marchand and Scheler. The first major fighting was over the capture of the "holy city" of Smolensk (August 16-18). Better than the account in most of the narratives is Walter's non-technical account of this episode. Of the short but critical engagement at Lubino-Valutino he says little, but he does — significantly — give his impression of the relatively greater Russian losses there. Both armies having now turned northward on the Moscow highway, at last, after a shift of the Russian high command from Barclay to old Marshal Kutusov, the foemen came to deadly grips, at Shevardine redoubt, on the Borodino or Moskva slaughter-field (September 7), and at Moshaïsk. It was at Borodino that the Württembergers cleared their record, winning by preëminent valor a costly renown. Significantly, at about this stage of the narrative the Walter manuscript outranks most of the other stories of the advance march in its vivid sincerity, having at times almost epic qualities, as in the description of Holy Moscow at first viewed from the Mont du Salut of the Sparrow Hills. Unhappily, as is explained by a textual annotation, certain details are inaccurate — one of the rare instances found in his 1812 narrative. His account of the sojourn at Moscow is also rather disappointingly terse and some-

what confusing, as compared with most of the narrations, and he dates the departure from Moscow a day too early.

Having gone to Moscow in spite of his best advisers and his own better judgment and having tarried there a month under baseless illusions of dictating peace to Czar Alexander, Napoleon was similarly illogical in the time and route of his retreat from Muscovy. However, it is true that there were several foreboding incidents to hasten his departure, such as the serious reverse of his cavalry at Tarutino beyond Moscow, the approach of another Russian army from the south, and certain advance warnings of winter's nearness. But, even so, his later excuse of premature and unprecedented cold has been discredited, nor did his indecisive first skirmish at Malo-Jaroslavetz (October 24) in the opinion of strategists and historians justify the panicky shift of route back to his old ravaged road of advance, which was chiefly responsible for the horrors of the retreat. While there is no military contribution in Walter's account of the home-turning, it sometimes has a fresh individual character. After the fatal shift from the Kaluga to the Smolensk highroad it is largely the conventional story, except for variations in personal incidents and, above all, for his personal reactions. This basic sameness of the retreat accounts was the inevitable effect of the rigors of winter and famine and the change of the remnant of the Grand Army into a ghastly rabble, where under the lash of the elemental urge to live, officers and men were alike in looks and conduct. Bad luck and providential good fortune — for which he was piously grateful — both had a part in making Walter a representative straggler, whose major concern was self-preservation. Care for his major's horse was his excuse, and his saving, for thus he often was away from the highway and his nominal unit. Yet he was there at vital times, as during the stops at Smolensk (November 12-14) and at Orsha (November 20), for the engagements of Krasnoë (November 17) and Borisov (November 25), and at the terrible Beresina crossing (November 26-28). Regarding the Beresina bridge, and the earlier recrossing of the Moskva battlefield, his account has fresh details of possible historical sig-

nificance. From the Beresina to the German frontier is another typical story of refugee hardships — sub-zero cold, attacking Cossacks, starvation and typhus — which were survived despite the odds. Did Walter show more initiative and energy than the mass of survivors, or was he just luckier, as in evading the pest-death of Vilna, and arriving home before his critical illness? How much there is, in short, thought-provokingly typical, and yet individual, in the record of Walter's experiences!

Truly Walter's third campaign was one of the most momentous in history. His unit being under Marshal Ney for most of the advance, he was in the thick of events. Out of that Grand Army of some 600,000 who about June 25, 1812, crossed the Russian border, he was one of the small number who survived the retreat, recrossed the Niemen in late December, and finally reached home. Naturally the account of his 1812 experiences, about three-fourths of his manuscript, is most detailed, systematic, and vitally — even vividly — interesting. It merits recognition among the many notable memoirs of the Moscow campaign. For many memoirs available for such study, comparative ranking is impracticable because of difference in scope, motive, or nature, and because of the author's status. Bourgoigne, Castellane, Caulaincourt, Fain, Marbot, Roos, Ségur are examples. But among those of a type more similar to Walter's, such as Coignet, Lossberg, Steinmüller, Vossen, Yelin, etc., the Walter narrative surely takes high rank.

Necessarily the scope of 1812 literature forces its students to be selective, to adhere to a dominant interest or motive. With many the interest is broadly historical. They are concerned with the causes or consequences of the Russian War, its diplomacy, its strategy. For them the sources have been often exploited and digested in scholarly monographs. Some aspects will always be disputed, and some phases of diplomacy, or military topics such as the facts regarding commissariat or hospitalization, may still be live issues. As to these the soldier memoirs may add something, but as to strategy or diplomacy rarely anything fresh. Then a second group of students have a "moral" or

propagandist objective. They may be seeking to demonstrate the virtues of patriotic popularism, the vices of despotism and its nemesis, the horrors and futility of war. Honest study of the evidences — including soldier memoirs — may well correct certain of their preconceptions which have become popular legends. They will find from Walter very little about peasants who attacked with flails and scythes, and that little chiefly about defending their villages and themselves against marauders. Of Cossack attacks, they will discover that most were against stragglers during the last stage of the retreat in Lithuania and Poland or East Prussia. They may learn that when Napoleon left his army at Smorgoni he had not only strong justification for rushing back to Paris, but also good reasons to turn the survivors over to capable sub-commanders, he himself having brought them into touch with supply bases, reinforcing new troops, and allied frontiers. But there is a third and most numerous group of readers motivated by the human-interest appeal, being concerned with dramatic incidents and with character portrayal. To them especially Walter's narrative is commended. His experiences are varied and representative, and particularly significant not merely as those of the army rank and file, but because of Walter's emotional revelations, thoughts of religion and the ties of home, and a persistent concern over the barbarizing effect of the retreat on himself and others. His mixture of Catholic piety and selfish energy was perhaps typically South German, yet it does show strikingly how the will to live and fend for oneself, joined with some degree of human kindness and providential aid, worked together to bring even a remnant safe home from Moscow in 1812.

"The Year 12. There is no campaign written so chasm-deep upon the souls of people and peoples as this." So did Dr. Paul Holzhausen begin his study: *Die Deutschen in Russland, 1812. Leben und Leiden auf der Moskauer Heerfahrt*. A notable example of German industry and romantic verve — a mosaic of data and of quoted bits selected from a mass of veteran-memoirs — it gives us an effective composite picture of pri-

marily German soldiers' experiences during the invasion of Russia. The writers from whom he quotes represent practically every type of service or interest and every military rank, except that of the common soldier. It is thus a remarkable diorama which is deemed one of the truly valuable contributions to the 1812 story. Its special value, however, is psychological rather than factual. As that is the special quality of the Jakob Walter narrative, too, one must regret that it could not have been known to Dr. Holzhausen. For, with his special competence, when making the compilation just cited, he might have given the Walter account its proper relative appraisal. Here space and intention have equally been wanting for a comprehensive digest such as Dr. Holzhausen might have included in his voluminous introduction. Instead the purpose of this historical appraisal has been: first, to validate the publication of our new-found manuscript as a reliable record of the experiences of a German conscript of the Napoleonic wars, next, to aid the appreciation of its worth by sketching as briefly as possible that Napoleonic background which the casual reader presumably would need to have recalled, and, finally, to set there-against only the high points of the manuscript significant for historical contribution or as corrections.

THE LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF WALTER'S CHRONICLE

BY OTTO SPRINGER

Jakob Walter's memoirs deserve attention not only because of the importance of the historical events which they describe but also because of the personality of their author. It is the private conscript, the "forgotten soldier," of Napoleon's campaigns who in this chronicle sets out to tell of the experiences, the thoughts and feelings, of the man of ordinary rank and file. And he does so in a terse, matter-of-fact, and simple style, without any sensationalism or romance, although there are passages in which he gives vent to his innermost feelings or speaks with pathos of the heights of joy and the depths of misery during his campaigns. And he writes in a language that is his in syntax, in grammatical usage, and in the choice — even in the forms — of words, syllables, and sounds. The language is folk-like, objective, and unassuming, although there are various indications of the author's ambition to reach beyond the ordinary diction of simple folk or to conceal the sub-standard forms of his native dialect.

In general, Walter's style has the charm of straightforwardness and simplicity, reminding the reader of the naive diction of the *Volksbücher* of the sixteenth century or of Grimmelhausen's *Simplicissimus*. Though perhaps unintentionally, Walter succeeds in drawing a perfect picture of the peaceful and idyllic scene of the beginning of the Russian campaign as he is marching through the villages along the Main River: *Ueberdiess machten einen jeden die schöne Oerter an dem Meinfluss frohe Gemüther welche mit Weinwachs, Obstbäume, und Feldfrüchten umschlossen sind*. Or, when on the retreat he meets a soldier of his company, Walter writes: "*Guter Lieber Freund,*" *erwiderte ich, "du handelst wie ein Bruder mit mir, ich will es mein lebenlang nicht vergessen deine Wohldat, sondern vielmehr dir Fernners wen wirs Leben haben mehrfach vergelten,"* — *er hatte damals ein ruschisches Pferd einen grossen Falchen, stieg auf und jeder musste seiner eigenen Gefahr ent-*

gegen arbeiten Beide wurden wieder voneinander gedruckt, und der Tod erreichte ihn. A similar incident is told with striking sincerity: Als wir einander Kanten, Küsten wir einander vor Freuden, und die Tränen flossen jeden herunter, indem jeder sagte aus Mosgau marschirten wir unsere 5. Gemeinde [davon] werden wir wohl noch die 2. letzten sein! We note also many very expressive phrases like das heissfaule Wasser, mit kalter Angst, unter dem Feind erfrühren.

The laconism of Walter's style often passes into a dry and grim humor as in his frequent references to the lice plague during the Russian campaign: Diese Plaggeister waren jedoch nicht um 1. Tausend weniger bei mir zu finden, nur konnten sie wegen beständiger Unruhe nicht soweit kommen das ich sie mit Fleisch bewirthen musste Or: von den Leisen aber oder von meiner Oberherrschaft konnte ich mich nicht reinigen, dan hätte ich auch tausend ermordet so würden die andern viele Tausend an mir Rache genommen haben, weswegen ich meinen Angriff nicht unternommen habe. Or, when speaking of his arrival at his home town, Walter writes about his "traveling companions" as follows: Ich hielt also meinen Einzug mit einen rusigen ruschischen Mandel, alten runden Huth, und unter meiner u: in meiner Kleitung unzähligen Reissgefährten, worunter Russen, Polen Preisen u: Saxen waren

A fine touch of humor characterizes also Walter's description of the soldiers' life and conduct in Moscow: Hier konnte man lebensmittel finden und Kaufen, dan jeder Soldat war jezt Bürger, Kaufman, Wirth u: Beker von Moskau Nachdem wir nun bereits 4. Wochen lang Bürger von Mosgau waren verloren wir das Bürgerrecht wider Der Morgen kam und jeder nahm sein Bürgerrecht auf den Bukel But the climax is reached in the scene when Walter on the retreat from Moscow arrives at Inowrazlav and is asked by the commandant of the city where he comes from: "Wo komt er her?" "Von der Armee," war meine Antwort. "So bist du auch so ein Mosgauer Tippel," entgegnete er mir wieder, — dass war mein Gruss zum Empfang

In contrast to this plain, naive, and popular style, Walter depicts the horrors of the battle of Borodino with powerful words: *Nun rikten beide Armeen vester gegeneinander und das Mordgeschrei und Feuergeschütter Glich einer Hölle.* Or, with reference to the crossing of the Beresina he writes: *Von 2 bis abends 4. Uhr rikten die Russen immer näher von allen Seiten und das Morden u: Martern schien alles zu vernichten.* And, when he finally sets his foot on the bridge himself, he exclaims: *Nur vest forwärts und in die Mitte musste der Entschluss sein, hier in dem Wasser ist jezt dein Grab, über der Brike die Fortsetzung von Marterleben, und auf der Brike die Entscheidung!* But most impressive is the restrained pathos with which Walter describes the moment when he at last reaches home and is again united with his family: *Sie sprangen vor Freuden in die Höche, drückten mir die Hände, und die Herzen nur konten fühlen, das Reden aber unterbrach*

Occasionally, however, the desire for more elevated style leads Walter to clumsy, stilted, or rhetorical sentences, as when he gives the reasons for the distressing conditions among the farmers in Brandenburg: *Wänn man die Unvermögenheit, dessen Ursache aushöben will, so ist meine Ersichtlichkeit folgender Art darzuthun.* Or when he for the first time sees his two sisters again: *Diese Herzliche Freude des Wiedersehen flamte göttlich im inern der Geschwistertliebe*

A similar conflict between adherence to popular taste and the aspiration toward a more elaborate diction is found in Walter's language, above all in his choice of words. There are, on the one hand, a great many striking expressions which Walter owes to the conscious or unconscious use of the vocabulary of his native speech, but there is also, on the other hand, the frequent and rarely successful attempt of the author to employ the more elevated and polished terminology of what he supposes to be Standard German.

Borrowing a term from his dialect, Walter says *schnuttern* when talking of that faithful comrade, his horse (see note 143),

Schlorben when referring to the old shoes of the priests in the church at Smolensk (see note 80), or *mogig* when describing the rotten cabbage on which the soldiers had to feed during their march (see note 186). It may be interesting in this connection to note that many of these idiomatic words are not part of the Swabian dialect in general but are peculiar to the speech which was spoken in the Ellwangen region and is still spoken there at the present time. Thus the standard dictionary of the Swabian dialect by H. Fischer, *Schwäbisches Wörterbuch*, 6 vols. (Tübingen, 1904-1936), lists a word like *mazig*, "sodden," for Ellwangen in particular (*Schwäb. Wb.*, IV, 1528; see note 373); the special form *Gompendonerstag*, "Shrove Thursday," is at present heard only in the Ellwangen region (*Schwäb. Wb.*, III, 924; see note 255); and the word *Eisklügen*, "cracks in the ice," is used in Ellwangen (Wössingen), Gmünd, and Heidenheim (*Schwäb. Wb.*, IV, 506; see note 229). Other terms which are typical of the Swabian dialect of today (and occasionally, indeed, of adjoining dialect areas¹) are *Eisschimmel* (see note 225), *Ageln* and *Brechageln* (note 66), *beheb* (note 9), *Brazen* (note 158), *diplig* and *Tippel* (note 242), *Firmdate* (note 379), *geschlacht* (note 238), *Grautdorschen* (note 127), *Hanfkauzen* (note 65), *Heimgasse* (note 249), *Kieselregen* (note 356), and *Weinwachs* (*Schwäb. Wb.*, VI, part I, p. 631).

Sometimes Walter uses words in a meaning which differs from that in Standard German, but which is known to be typical of Swabian dialect or even of his Ellwangen speech. So he writes *laufen* in the sense of *gehen*, "to walk," and therefore he has to say *springen* or *sauen* to indicate quicker motion (see notes 90, 94, and 161). *Bereits*, which in Swabian and other dialects means "almost," seldom "already," is used by Walter with similar freedom (*Schwäb. Wb.*, I, 864, and Roedder, *VuW.*, p. 348). *Teich*, in the neuter, not the masculine gender, in Swabian refers to a hole or depression in the ground without water, never

¹ On this account I have often, for comparison, referred to the comprehensive description of the vocabulary of a rural community within the South Franconian dialect area by E. Roedder, *Volkssprache und Wortschatz des badischen Frankenlandes*, New York, 1936. (*VuW.*)

to a pond (see note 67 and Roedder, *VuW.*, p. 545). See also *wüst* in the sense of "ugly" (see note 186); *rauh*, "not ground" (*Schwäb. Wb.*, V, 181); *dürr*, "lean" (*Schwäb. Wb.*, II, 507); *heben*, "to hold" (Pfleiderer, p. 418); *steckten sich*, "were jammed" (*Schwäb. Wb.*, V, 1683); and *Frucht*, "grain," not "fruit" (see note 6).

But along with this enrichment of Walter's vocabulary from the resources of his native speech goes an obvious liking on his part for big, high-sounding words, for abstract, if not pedantic terms such as characterize also the vocabulary of young Schiller. Cf. W. Pfeiderer, "Die Sprache des jungen Schiller in ihrem Verhältnis zur neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache," *Paul und Braunes Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, XXVIII (1903), 273-424.

Thus the simplicity of the word choice in Walter's chronicle is marred by a strange cult for the most artificial and abstract nouns in -ung such as *Wiederauffüllung*, *Ueberhandnehmung*, *Wegsbeobachtung*, *Verkaufung*, *ohne Verweilung*, *lauerte ich auf Vernehmung*, *die bereits unmögliche Blossmachung der Hände*, etc. (Pfleiderer, pp. 394 f. and note). Another peculiarity is the abundance of abstract nouns ending in *e* (OHG -i) as *die Müde*, *Schwäche*, *Spröde*, *Steife*, *Schwärze*, *Schwere* (Pfleiderer, p. 397); of nouns in -igkeit or -lichkeit such as *Ersichtlichkeit*, *Gelüstigkeit*, or of expressions like *augenscheinlich*, *mit dem Scheine wie*, *per ausserordentlichen Zufall*.

But the worst results of this mischievous ambition for more elevated prose are the clumsy and involved constructions with infinitive forms and participles: *aus Angst des Versaufens*, *wegen Einbiegens*, *in einer gefundenen Kufe*, *mit inn Himel-sehenden Augen*, *mit beybehaltenter Sonnenröthe*, *mit bekom-mener Marschruthe*, *ohne bemerkter Gefahr*, *ohne zusammen-drettener Manschafts*.

The same two conflicting tendencies are evident in the word formation, accident, and spelling which we find in Walter's manuscript.

Following his dialect, Walter writes *verschüssen* and *verbrechen*, instead of *erschiesen* and *zerbrechen* with the prefixes *er-* and *zer-*, which are not used in Swabian (see notes 42, 56, 289, 291); similarly *verfrühren* instead of *erfrieren* and *verstükt* instead of *erstickt*. On the other hand, in his effort to eliminate from his speech certain sub-standard forms, Walter frequently goes a step too far, using *zer-* even in cases where Standard German has *ver-*, as in *zerschieden* for Standard German *verschieden* (see note 338) and in *zerbrent* for Standard German *verbrannt*; or he uses *er-* even in cases where Standard German has *ver-*, as in *auch an mir hatte sich einer ergrifen* (instead of *vergrifen*). These forms are what the linguists call "hyper-correct," or "reverse writing."²

Another typically Swabian feature of word formation is the diminutive ending *-lein* as in *ein Scheitlein Holz*, especially the form *-le* as in *Westle* (see note 234) or *Kästlen* (dative plural). An additional final *t*, which is also known from such Standard German words as *sonst*, *Papst*, *Obst*, etc. (MHG *sus*, *babes*, *obez*), is found in a great many Swabian dialect forms, especially of collective words. Walter uses the following: *Geschwistert* (Schwäb. Wb., III, 510), *Getrüngt* (*ibid.*, III, 148), *Geschützt* (*ibid.*, III, 499), *Wacht* (*ibid.*, VI, part I, pp. 314 ff., 324 ff.), and *mit Hilft*. The form *Fronleichnamstag* is used in *Ellwangen* to the present day (*Oberamtsbeschreibung Ellwangen*, p. 190), and so is *gestert* instead of *gestern* (*ibid.*, p. 190). See also *mittelst* and *anderst*, which are similar to English *amongst*, *against*, *betwixt*, etc. (Schwäb. Wb., I, 186, Pfeleiderer, pp. 323, 399 ff., Roedder, VuW., p. 79).

The forms *Enstel* and *Enstlich*, which Walter writes instead of Standard German *Unschlitt*, also agree exactly with what is

² Also "hyperforms," "backforms," "hyperurbanisms," or, in German, "hyperhochdeutsch," "überhochdeutsch," "überschriftsprachlich," "Adoptivformen," "umgekehrte Sprechweise." Cf. W. Horn, *Englische Studien*, LIV (1920), 76-79, and R. J. Menner, *American Speech*, XII (1937), 167-178. — Concerning the prefixes *er-* and *zer-* in Swabian, cf. Pfeleiderer, pp. 410 f., O. Behaghel, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* ⁵ (Berlin-Leipzig, 1928), p. 219, O. Behaghel, *Schriftsprache und Mundart* (Giessen, 1896), p. 15: "Der Schwabe entbehrt der Vorsilbe *zer-*, bei ihm werden die Kleider verrissen. Dadurch ist kein geringer als der junge Schiller verführt worden, von *zerschiedenen* Szenen, *zerschiedenen* Eigenschaften zu sprechen." Cf. also Roedder, VuW., pp. 168 f.

known of the present usage in the Ellwangen region (see note 172). Moreover, *leinen* is the Swabian form for High German *lehnen* (Schwäb. Wb., IV, 1154 f., and *Oberamtsbeschreibung Ellwangen*, p. 189) and *nestern* for *nisten*, which is never used in Swabian dialect (Schwäb. Wb., IV, 2001, 2052).

Most striking, perhaps, are the cases in which Walter uses a word not with the grammatical gender customary in Standard German, but with the gender characteristic of Swabian dialect or of the speech of his native town. While in Low German as well as in the standard language the word *See* as a feminine refers to the ocean, in the Upper German dialects it is used only as a masculine and for an inland lake; the ocean in these dialects is always called *das Meer* (see notes 5, 305, 313). Walter therefore constantly speaks of *dem Ostsee*: *wir werden im Ostsee eingeschifft*, *Kollberg an dem Ostsee*, and *auf dem See mit Schiffen*. However, most inconsistently, when referring to the Lake of Constance (called in Standard German *der Bodensee*), he once uses the feminine: *eine Ensel der See* (see note 347 and Schwäb. Wb., V, 1299).³

Other examples of a gender different from that of Standard German are *der Scharmizel* (Schwäb. Wb., V, 699), *der Lust* (*ibid.*, IV, 1349 f.: "Das nhd. Femininum dringt halbmundartlich durch"), *der Luft* (*ibid.*, IV, 1320: "Masculinum, besonders von bewegter Luft"), *der Infalllittengehalt* (*ibid.*, III, 185: "Gehalt: bei uns früher nur schriftsprachlich bekannt; neuerdings auch amtlich allgemein. Stets masculinum; populär ist das Wort noch nicht geworden"), *dieser Spital* (*ibid.*, V, 1548: "Wie nhd. noch masc. neben neutr.; städtisch immer mehr neut."), *mit allem Gewalt* (*ibid.*, III, 589 ff.: "Mhd. masc., fem. Modern greift das Fem., aus der Halbmundart, immer mehr um sich. Sonst in echter Mundart noch masc."), *einen Werkzeug* (*ibid.*, VI, part I, p. 716). Cf. also Roedder, *VuW.*, pp. 180 ff.

Less divergence from Standard German is shown in the declension of nouns, although the substituting for the genitive of

³ Perhaps this is a curious case of "hyper-correct" usage.

a prepositional expression *von* with the dative, which is typical of Swabian and of popular German speech in general, is found in Walter's chronicle, too: *die Fortsetzung von Marterleben, die Wärme von Leib, die Unmenschlichkeit von den Kommandeurs, die Einwohner von der Stadt* (Roedder, *VuW.*, p. 235). Another interesting substitute for the genitive case is the use of the possessive *sein* preceded by the dative: . . . *das Euer Exelenz . . . dem Kranken seynen Tod verschuldet hätten* . . . (Roedder, *VuW.*, p. 236).

In the plural of nouns, Swabian dialect in false analogy to the great many umlauted nouns has introduced umlaut even into those plural forms which lack it in Standard German. Walter has *die Wägen, Täge, Aerme, Wäsen, and Mäuren* (K. Bohnenberger, *Die Mundarten Württembergs* [Stuttgart, 1928], p. 38, Pfeiderer, pp. 327 f.). Moreover, the dialect favors the plural ending *-er*: *die Schanzwerker, Pferdteisner and Eiserner, Hemter, Beiner* (Bohnenberger, *Ma. Württ.*, pp. 40 f., Pfeiderer, p. 338, Roedder, *VuW.*, pp. 119 ff.). Another dialectal characteristic is the use of certain singular forms in *-en* such as: *den* (and *der*) *Lermen* (*Schwäb. Wb.*, IV, 995 ff.), *Kleien* (*ibid.*, IV, 472 ff.), *Saifen* (*ibid.*, V, 1323), in *Seiden* (*ibid.*, V, 1321), *seine Feldflaschen, auf die Seithen, and Erden*. Cf. Pfeiderer, pp. 331, 339.

A very interesting detail is the grammatical form of *sein Bediente* and, without the *-e*, *mein Nebenbedient* (twice), which is confirmed by occasional usage in the dialect of today, according to *Schwäb. Wb.*, I, 750: "Der alte adj. Charakter ist nach bestimmtem Artikel in der Flexion durchaus bewahrt . . . ; mit unbestimmtem Artikel regelrecht *ein Bedienter*, aber auch *ein Bediente*." Cf. H. Paul, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik* (Halle, 1918), pp. 100 f. Also noteworthy is the use of inflected forms of the adjective in predicative function: *Ich trug den Schlitten ausgelehrter hiniber*, or *Nimt man täglich 12. Stunden zurikgelegter an*. The standard language has preserved only a few isolated instances of this kind, e.g., "Er sah den Korb voller Trauben." Cf. also H. Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 108, and the interesting parallels in Roedder, *VuW.*, p. 187.

The form *merst* instead of *meist* for the superlative of *viel* is confirmed by *Schwäb. Wb.*, IV, 1584, while the *Oberamtsbeschreibung Ellwangen*, p. 188, lists *meast* and *moast*. Cf. *Pfleiderer*, p. 356. Also the comparative *ehnter* instead of *eher* is still used in Walter's home town, according to *Schwäb. Wb.*, II, 526: "*eander in Ellwangen*" (from an older nasalized form *enr* with dental infix). Cf. also *Roedder, VuW.*, p. 57.

If Walter's manuscript is a compromise between the author's native dialect and his yearning for standard speech, this compromise is best illustrated by the peculiar forms for the past tense of strong verbs. As is well known, Swabian and many other German dialects have replaced the simple past tense by the present perfect. But Walter strives to follow the usage of Standard German and, therefore, introduces many past tense forms of his own. In false analogy to the mass of weak verbs, however, he coins weak past tenses even of strong verbs, such as *reitete* instead of *ritt* or *zwingte* instead of *zwang*, thus going a step further in the direction in which, after all, even the standard speech tends to develop: as in modern German *bellte* instead of an older form *boll*, which was still used by Goethe (*M. Heyne, Deutsches Wörterbuch*, I, 352), or modern English *helped* compared with Old English *healp*. Cf. *Bohnenberger, Ma. Württ.*, p. 45, *Pfleiderer*, pp. 376-381, and *Roedder, VuW.*, pp. 133 f., 190.

So we find in Walter's chronicle a great many forms like *zihte*, *aufsizten*, *scheidete*, *scheinte* besides *schienen*, *hehte*, *bitete*, *reittete* besides *ritten*, *versaufften*, and *erfrührten* besides *gefrohren*. Such forms due to false analogy were most readily suggested in the case of verbs with the same vowel in both present tense and past participle, because, since the forms of the simple past tense were lacking in the dialect, these verbs were without the most characteristic feature of all strong verbs: the ablaut, or vowel-gradation. So Walter writes *heisste*, *erfahrte*, *durchdretteten*, *grabte*, *laufte*, *schlafte*, *schlugte* besides *schlug*, *stosste*, and *waschte*. Some other verbs which in MHG show both strong and weak inflections have been accepted as weak

verbs in Swabian dialect and by Walter, while the standard speech often decided in favor of the strong forms: *rufte* (instead of *rief*), *bratete* (instead of *briet*), and *haute* besides *hieb*. And, since speakers of Swabian dialect say "es hat (ge)brennt" (instead of *gebrannt*) and "er hat (ge)denkt" (instead of *gedacht*), with mutated vowel, Walter writes *brente* and *zerbrent*, or *denkte* besides *dachte*. Cf. *Schwäb. Wb.* II, 145 ff., *Oberamtsbeschreibung Ellwangen*, pp. 192 f., *Pfleiderer*, pp. 382 f., and *Roedder, VuW.*, p. 139.

However, most strikingly is Walter's dialect reflected in the spelling of the individual words. It is true that some of the peculiarities are due to the particular orthography of his time, such as the writing of *i* and of simple vowels in words like *ligen*, *bli-ben*, *marschirte*, *Har*, and *Arme* (instead of *Armee*), where present rules call for *ie* and double vowels; the absence of *h* in *wolauf*, *ausgehölt*, *Schu*, *Bonen*, *Hanen*, and *mer*; the archaic spelling of *ei* as *ey* in *zwey*, *bey*, *seye*, etc.; or the use of *k*, *z*, *f*, and *l* in words which now are written with *ck*, *tz*, *ff*, and *ll*. Similar old-fashioned spellings are *behülfig*, *würklich*, *Gebürk*, *fünden*, *Küssen* with *ü* instead of *i*, *ellend* with the etymologically correct double *l*, *gieng* with *ie*, *Gränze* with *ä*, *vest* and *Ve-stung* with *v*, *Brod* with *d*, and *Teutsch*, as may be expected, with *T*. The spelling of the name of Württemberg varies: *Wirtten-berg*, *Württenberg*, *Würtemberg*. The older form with *i* had been officially changed into *ü* in 1802, so that in school Walter had still been taught the spelling with *i*.

Most of Walter's deviations from the present standard orthography, however, are due to "phonetic spellings," which, often strikingly, reflect the peculiarities of his dialect. Ellwangen is situated immediately south of a line which has been accepted as the linguistic boundary between the East Franconian dialect in the north and the Swabian in the south. Although such linguistic barriers in general are more likely to be zones of transition rather than sharp lines of demarcation, the phonological boundaries in this particular region converge so closely that there are very few traces of Swabian dialect noticeable north of this line,

and hardly any East Franconian is mixed into the Swabian speech of Ellwangen south of this line. Cf. K. Bohnenberger, "Die schwäbisch-fränkische Sprachgrenze um Jagst und Kocher," *Württ. Jahrbücher*, 1932-1933, especially p. 18.

Only one characteristic of the East Franconian dialect, the change of *i* and *u* to *e* and *o* before *r*, extends into the Swabian dialect area. That is why Walter in one case writes *Verrtelstunde* instead of *Viertelstunde* (see note 196 and Roedder, *VuW.*, p. 61: *fertl-*), *Forcht* instead of *Furcht* (see note 267), and *Gort* instead of *Gurt* (see note 318). *Oberamtsbeschreibung Ellwangen*, pp. 186 f., lists the forms *ferchten* and *Forcht* for the northern part of the district.⁴

All other linguistic peculiarities agree with what has been described as characteristic of Swabian dialect. The northeastern part of the Swabian dialect area, to which the Ellwangen region belongs, is known for its tendency to retain long vowels or to lengthen short vowels in many cases in which the standard language has short sounds. Thus Walter writes *miet*, *grief*, *riess*, *am Kihn*, *Wähle*, *Ehlen*, *lernt* and *könen zu lehn*, instead of *mit*, *griff*, *am Kinn*, *Wälle*, *Ellen*, *lernt* and *kennen zu lernen*. Cf. Bohnenberger, *Ma. Württ.*, pp. 6-9, and *Oberamtsbeschreibung Ellwangen*, pp. 185, 187 f., 191.

Even more general is the change of *i* (*ü*) and *u* to *e* (also written as *ä*) and *ü* before nasal, a Swabian shibboleth which has been found quite frequently in the rhymes of young Schiller and was parodied in A. W. Schlegel's⁵ famous lines:

AUFFORDERUNG

MUNDARTISCH

Ihr Schwoabe, paut ein Monument
Dem Schiller, den ihr Euer nennt!
Wenn diess, wie ich, die Teutsche wenschten,
so stühnde sie euch gern zu Tentschten.

KENNZEICHEN

Wenn jemand "Schoosse" reimt auf "Rose;"
Auf "Menschen" "wünschen;" und in Prose
Und Versen schillert: Freunde! wisst,
Dass seine Heimat Schwaben ist.

⁴ Cf. Bohnenberger, *Ma. Württ.*, p. 66, and *Württ. Jbb.*, p. 24.

⁵ A. W. Schlegels *Sämtliche Werke*, hgg. von E. Böcking, Bd. 2 (Leipzig, 1846), p. 210.

So Walter writes *Geschwendigkeit*, *Ensel*, *verfenstert*, *ihr Hände Rängen*, *Gutdänken*, *schwemen*, *Mitteinstämmung*, *Kesklompen* instead of *Geschwindigkeit*, *Insel*, *verfinstert*, *ihr Hände Ringen*, *Gutdünken*, *schwimmen*, *Miteinstimmung*, and *Käsklumpen* (Cf. Bohnenberger, *Ma. Württ.*, pp. 10 f., *Württ. Jbb.*, p. 24, and *Oberamtsbeschreibung Ellwangen*, p. 187). But Walter realizes this peculiarity of his native speech and, therefore, often restores the correct standard vowels *i* and *u*; or in his ambition to employ Standard German he leans over backwards and writes *i* and *u* in cases which even in the standard language have *e* and *o*! This kind of "hyper-correct" or "reverse" writing explains how Walter arrives at such forms as *durch den ingen Bass* (instead of *engen*), *Margadinter* (i.e., *Markatender*), *eine Schwinkel* (i.e., *Schwengel*), *impfindlich*, *im Tausend nach* (instead of *[d]em Tausend nach*), *Krimel* (i.e., *Kreml*), *blinken* (i.e., *plänkeln*), *mundhell* (i.e., *mondhell*), *Bumpen* besides *Bompen*, *Pumern* and *Breisch Bummern* (i.e., *Preussisch Pommern*).

Another well-known feature of Swabian speech is the pronunciation of *ü*, *ö*, *äu* or *eu* as *i*, *e*, and *ei* respectively. So Walter writes *riken*, *zurik*, *Brike*, *Glik* and *Klik*, *Hitte*, *schitteln*, *Scharfschizen*, *Scharmizel*, *Griz*, *dichtig*, *heriber*, *mit mih*, *verbindete*, *ausgeplintert*, *zinteten*, *filte*, *Windmiln*, *sitlich*, *Bigel*, *Prigel*, *Gemiss*, *Wirste*, *Landesfirst*, *Wisterroth*, *Kinzelsau*, and *General Higel*. But he not seldom correctly writes *ü* (*rükte*, *schüttete*, *übrige*, *Stüke*), or with reverse spelling, whereby the surrounding consonants or false analogy to cognate forms may play a part, *güngen*, *füngen*, *schümpfen*, *Würthshäusser*, *trünken*, *wünsseln*, *Geschürr*, *wür*, *erstükt*, *schüssen*, *Thürgartten*, *Dünkelspühl*, and *Münsk*.

The letter *e* stands for *ö* (MHG *ö* and *oe*) in Walter's spelling: *Reke* (instead of *Röcke*), *gewöhnlich*, *schene*, and *he(h) rte* (i.e., *hörte*). And with reverse spelling, especially in the neighborhood of *w*, *b*, and *l*, he writes: *schwöbe*, *aufhöben*, *Ströbmäuren*, *Schlösien*, and *Kössel*. Cf. the unetymological spellings of Standard German *Hölle*, *Löffel*, *löschen*, *schwören*, etc. Cf. H. Paul, op. cit., p. 18.

The diphthong *ei* takes the place of *eu* or *äu* (MHG *iu* and umlauted *iu*) in forms like *Kaufleithe*, *Zigeiner*, *Bareith*, *feierten* (i.e. *feuerten*), *Keischheit*, *Staudengestreich*, *Leise* besides *Leisse*, *Breisen*, *Preisen* or *Preissen*. With reverse spelling we find the words *Teuche*, *Feund*, *eufferloser*, *Feuertags-Rede*, the fortress of *Neuse* (i.e., *Neisse*), and the Field Marshal *Neu* instead of *Ney*!

Although the Swabian dialect, especially in the South, favors forms without umlaut such as *Muck(e)*, *Stuck*, *Bruck(e)*, etc., Walter usually has *u* with umlaut, rarely without: *drukete* and *gedrukete* besides *trükete* (*Oberamtsbeschreibung Ellwangen*, p. 187: *dricken*; *Schwäb. Wb.*, II, 413 f.: "Echte Ma. und Halbma. haben nur *u*; der Umlaut scheint im Nordosten zu beginnen"; Bohnenberger, *Ma. Württ.*, pp. 11 f., *Pfleiderer*, p. 295). Also the form *Sabel*, "saber," instead of *Säbel*, is typical of the Swabian and Alemannic dialects (*Schwäb. Wb.*, V, 511, and Kluge-Götze, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 493).

The Swabian "slurring" of unstressed syllables shows in Walter's frequent omission of an unaccented *e*: *Greul*, *entlegens*, *vorhandens*, *Verlohhrens*, *erlittenr*, *welchs*, *glüstete*, *kleitete* (instead of *geleitete*), *Quere* (instead of *Gewehre*), *ein* and *eim* instead of *einen* and *einem*. Final *e* has often been dropped: *Gemiss* (instead of *Gemüse*), *Reiss* (instead of *Reise*), *Barak*, *ein Stadt* (pronounced *a stat*), *kein Medizin* (pronounced *koe medizin*). Cf. Bohnenberger, *Ma. Württ.*, pp. 22-25, Roedder, *VuW.*, pp. 84-89. For the same reason the unaccented syllable *-en* in Walter's orthography often appears as *-e*, pronounced as a sound between *e* and *a*: *die beste Quatire*, *die Fussgehende*, *die Kranke*, etc.

But while these features occur in the entire Swabian dialect, the pronunciation of the ending *ern* as *re* (*ra*), out of *ren*, is typical of the region around Ellwangen: *Bauren*, *abfeuren*, *Mauern* and *Mäuren*, *laurend*, also *Dornbiren* (instead of *Dornbirn*). Cf. Bohnenberger, *Ma. Württ.*, p. 77, *Württ. Jbb.*, p. 28, *Pfleiderer*, p. 316. And so is the form *Millich* (see note 70) confirmed by the present pronunciation of the word in Ellwan-

gen (*Oberamtsbeschreibung Ellwangen*, p. 191: *milech*; *Schwäb. Wb.*, IV, 1665 ff.: "*Milich nördlich von Neckar und Rems. Auch Halbmundart*"; *Roedder, VuW.*, p. 461).

As to consonants, Walter's manuscript throughout reflects an outstanding characteristic of Swabian dialect: the concurrence of hard and soft stops (*p*, *t*, *k*, and *b*, *d*, *g*) in soft stops (voiceless lenes),⁶ which in Walter's spelling very frequently appear as *b*, *d*, *g*. Cf. *Bohnenberger, Ma. Württ.*, pp. 26 ff., *Oberamtsbeschreibung Ellwangen*, p. 190, *Roedder, VuW.*, pp. 41 f. and note on p. 591.

So Walter writes *d*, instead of Standard German *t*, in *Dopf*, *Wohldat*, *Daschen*, *drefen*, *durchdretteten*, *drünken*, *Dreppen*, *Tode Menschen*, *Ademzug* and *Adamzug*, *Fandasio*, *Mandel* (i.e., *Mantel*), *Fronnd*, *Brandwein* (wrongly associated with *Brand*, "intoxication"), *dictig*, *Nachdisch*, *Weld*, *Gewald*, *rode Rüben*, etc. Or, *b* takes the place of *p*, as in *Bass* and *Engbässe*, *Belz*, *Bechkrenze*, *blagten*, *Blauen* (the city of *Plauen*), *die Tiroler Alb* (wrongly associated with the Swabian *Alb*!), *Breisch Bummern* (i.e., *Preussisch Pommern*!), *Bosen* and *Bossen* (the city of *Posen*). Or, *g* stands for *k* in words like *Gripe*, *Gleien*, *Grautstök*, *gedrügt*, *Feuerwolgen*, *Mittelpungt*, *Grampf*, *Hemdttragen*, *Folgsmenge*, *Parg*, *krang*, *Weigersheim*, *Mosgau*, even *Gristnacht* and *ungristlich*!

But again, cases of reverse spelling occur frequently. Thus Walter writes a hyper-correct *t* in *trohten*, *eintringen*, *Getreng*, *trükten*, *türfen*, *sitlich* (instead of *südlich*), *kleiten*, *Seitenzeug*, *abzuschneiten*, but *abschnid* (!), in *Bälte*, *Treglachen*, *Tresden*, *abgebrande Törfer* (instead of *Dörfer*), but, on the other hand, *Dorf* in the sense of *Torf*, "peat" (*Pfleiderer*, pp. 317 ff.).⁷ A hyper-correct *p* is found in *Trap*, *Bumpen* (instead of *Bomben*), *propierte* (*Pfleiderer*, p. 317). Hyper-correct *k* is used by Walter in *Unklik*, *Kukelregen*, *Gebirk* (in final position!),

⁶ With the exception of initial *k*, which before vowels is pronounced as *k* (*kh*) in the dialect. Cf. L. Bloomfield, *Language*, XIV (1938), 178-186.

⁷ Cf. the often-quoted hyperurbanisms *Thirektor* and *thirekt* instead of *Direktor* and *direkt*, *Schwäb. Wb.*, II, 223; *Germania*, XXXVI (1891), 427 f. and note; *Roedder, VuW.*, p. 78: *thialekt*.

Kreisse (instead of Greise), krausamm, Quere (instead of G [e]wehre), Roken (instead of Roggen), fraken (instead of fragen), and in the spelling of the place-names Merkentheim, Klaz, and Kniesen (instead of Gnesen).

Since Walter's dialect pronunciation does not distinguish between voiced and voiceless *s* — there are no voiced spirants in Swabian speech—Walter uses *s* and *ss* interchangeably: *geheisen*, but *heisste*, *grosen*, *as*, *Keisser*, *loss*, *blosslassen*, *weis*, *Esig*, *beste*, *wass*, *so das*, but in *dass* *Orth*, *biss*, *Leise* and *Lisse*, *Schose* for *Chaussee*. Cf. Bohnenberger, *Ma. Württ.*, p. 28, *Pfleiderer*, pp. 321 and 423. In the dialect, also *s* and *z* (pronounced *ts* in Standard German) after *l*, *n*, *t* sound alike, hence Walter's spellings: *winzeln*, *Halz*, *Hilze* besides *Hülse*, *einslen*, *jenseitz*, *abseitz*. Cf. *Pfleiderer*, p. 317: *Felsen* and *wälzen* rhymed by Schiller. For the same reason, *nds* often appears as *ns* in the chronicle: *follens*, *abens*, *durchgehens*. Cf. *Pfleiderer*, p. 319: *Tanz* and *Lands* rhymed by Schiller. Moreover, *s* in the combination *st*, *sp* is pronounced as *sh* (*sch*), not only at the beginning, but also in the middle of a word and in compounds: *Anschbach*, *Aschberg* besides *Asberg* (*Schwäb. Wb.*, I, 343); similarly *Weigerschheim* and *Schmalensk*. Cf. Bohnenberger, *Ma. Württ.*, p. 31, and *Pfleiderer*, p. 321.

All these tendencies and characteristics of Walter's dialect are most conspicuous in his spellings, or rather misspellings, of foreign words. In many cases, however, the assimilation was aided by various popular associations, "folk etymologies," as the following illustrations will show:

Absalvierte (i.e., *absolvierte*), *Ab(b)editt* (i.e., *Appetit*; the genuine dialect form is *Abedik*; *Schwäb. Wb.*, II, 229), *Artöl-lerie* (*Schwäb. Wb.*, I, 33: "Die allgemein populäre Form ist *a[r]döleri*") *Bainet* (i.e. *Bajonett*; the genuine dialect form is *Bangenet*, *Schwäb. Wb.*, I, 613 f.), *Bappier* (i.e., *Papier*; *Schwäb. Wb.*, I, 625 f.), *auf Pierermitten*, instead of *auf Pyramiden* (see note 53), *Biget* instead of *Pikett*, *Dampor* (i.e., *Tambour*; cf. *Roedder*, *VuW.*, p. 102), *Depo* (i.e., *Depot*), *Tiatergebäude* (i.e., *Theatergebäude*; the form is confirmed by Ober-

amtsbeschreibung Ellwangen, p. 187: tiader), die Arre instead of Diarrhöe (see note 59), Egwibasch (i.e., Equipage; similarly Futterasch, Passasche), Gart or Gartte instead of Garde, Infallittengehalt (see note 262), Kamuraden and similar forms (Schwäb. Wb., IV, 173: kham[e]rad), Kapelthüre, but also Todenkappelle (see note 163), komod instead of Standard German bequem (Schwäb. Wb., IV, 595; in Oberamtsbeschreibung Ellwangen, p. 196, the word is listed among the foreign words current in Ellwangen speech), Chor, Cohr (i.e., Armeekorps, Oberamtsbeschreibung Ellwangen, p. 196), Kranatier (i.e., Grenadier; the spelling corresponds to the present pronunciation of the word in Ellwangen: granadier, Oberamtsbeschreibung Ellwangen, p. 186; cf. Schwäb. Wb., III, 789: "Aelter Granatierer"; Roedder, VuW., p. 104), Leutenant and Leutinant (Schwäb. Wb., IV, 1211: leitenant), Margadinter (see note 117), Quati(e)r and Quarti(e)r (Schwäb. Wb., IV, 891: gwadier, Roedder, VuW., p. 39), Rekon(t)falizent (i.e., Rekonvaleszent), rit(t)eri(e)ren, Ritterade (i.e., retirieren, Retirade, wrongly associated with a form of reiten; cf. Schwäb. Wb., V, 314), Revie (i.e., Revue), Ruthe, Routhe, or Rauthe (instead of Route), Schadarmen instead of Gendarmen (Walter renders the French pronunciation; the genuine dialect form is Schandarm, with folk etymology; Schwäb. Wb. V, 682), Schose for Chaussee (Roedder, VuW., p. 100), Schwaliser for Chevauleger (see note 175).

Even the Russian words which Walter mentions in the manuscript, show traces of his Swabian pronunciation: Bopen (Russian pop; see note 79), Kapusk, Kapuska, Kapuke (Russian kapusta; see notes 71, 185, 187), and Goniak besides Koniak (Russian gon; see notes 141, 162).

This brief sketch may show that in language and style Jacob Walter's account of his experiences in the Napoleonic wars is a strange mixture of the dialect of the common man and the speech of the educated. Thus the manuscript reflects, even in its form (as may be said of the content and, probably, of

Walter's personality, too) the ambition of a man born in a small place and of humble parents, a man who spoke the popular dialect of his region and was trained in a simple trade, but who had it in him, by his singular vitality, his keen intelligence, and his realism combined with piety, to rise above his class and to immortalize himself by leaving the record of his share in the history of his time to his children and to posterity in general.

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ITINERARIES OF WALTER'S CAMPAIGNS

(Only dates mentioned in Walter's account are indicated. The figures in parentheses refer to the pages of the English translation in this book)

CAMPAIGN OF 1812-1813

- [Ellwangen]
 Schorndorf (3) January 1812
 Calw (3) see note 3
 Wüstenroth (3) 4-5 days' stay
 Künzelsau (3)
 Mergentheim (3)
 Weikersheim (3)
 Würzburg district (3)
 Along the Main River (3)
 Saxe-Coburg (3) middle of March
 Saxe-Weimar (5)
 Weimar (5)
 Leipsic (5) beginning of April, two days' stay
 Torgau (5)
 Fürstenwalde (7) a few days' stay
 Frankfort-on-the-Oder (9) three days' stay,
 Ascension Day, May 7, 1812
 Reppen (9) in May
 Posen (11)
 Gnesen (11)
 Inowrazlav (11)
 Thorn (11) on Corpus Christi Day, May 28, 1812
 Seeburg (13)
 Bischofstein (13)
 Lagarben (13)
 Löwentin Lake (13)
 Nordenburg (13)
 Darkehmen (13)
 Kalvaria (13)
 Mariampol (13)
 Poniemon (15) crossing of the Niemen River, June 25
 Vilkomirz (17)
 Eve (19) see notes 48, 51, 54
 Maliaty (21) two days' stay
 Calcalcisna (23) [Kosatschisna?] see note 62
 Labonary (23)
 Diescony (23) [?]
 Drysviaty (23)
 Braslav (23)
 Disna (23) middle of July
 Polotsk (23)
 Ula (27)
 Beshenkovichi (27)
 Ostrovno (27)
 Vitebsk (27) end of July
 Smolensk (31) August 16-18
 Dorogobush (37)
 Semlevo (37)
 Viasma (37)
 Gshatsk (37)
 Moshaisk (37) September 7
 Moscow (41) five weeks' stay, see note 102;
 departure on October 18, see note 105
 Malo Jaroslavetz (47)
 Toward Kaluga (47)
 Borovsk (49)
 Vereia (51) first snow
 Verina (51) [?] see note 120
 Moshaisk (51)
 Gshatsk (53)
 Viasma (57)
 Semlevo (57)
 Dorogobush (57)
 Before Smolensk (59) November 12, two days' stay
 Krasnoe (63) November 16
 Dubrovna (67)
 Orscha (69)
 Kochanova (71)
 Toloczin (73)
 Bobr (73)
 Krupky (73) see note 159
 Losznitz (73)
 Borissov (73, 81) November 25
 Beresina River (81) November 26-28
 Sembin (85)
 Plechnizi (99)
 Sedlicz (99) see note 207
 Molodetschno (99)
 Smorgoni (99)
 Vilna (99) one night's stay
 Memel River (109) toward the end of December, see notes 223, 224
 Ortelsburg (115) see note 233
 Niklawi (117) [Mlava?] December 24, see note 235
 Thorn (119)
 Inowrazlav (121)
 Posen (123)
 Crossen (123)
 Torgau (125)
 Leipsic (125)
 Plauen (125)
 Bayreuth (127)
 Nuremberg (127)
 Ansbach (127)
 Dinkelsbühl (127)
 Rettsstadt (127)
 Ellwangen (127) February 24, 1813, at 3 P.M.; two days' stay, Shrove Thursday

Schorndorf (129) evening of February 26
 Waiblingen (131)
 Waldenbuch (131) two weeks' stay
 Asperg (131) four days' stay
 Vaihingen (131) middle of March

Waldenbuch (135) about April 10
 Stuttgart (135)
 Ludwigsburg (135)
 Asperg (135)
 [Ellwangen]

CAMPAIGN OF 1806-1807

[Ellwangen]
 Ludwigsburg (137)
 Ellwangen (137) autumn 1806
 Nuremberg (137)
 Ansbach (137)
 Bayreuth (137)
 Plauen (137)
 Dresden (137)
 Bunzlau (137)
 Gross-Glogau (137) three weeks' stay
 Crossen (137)
 Frankfort-on-the-Oder (137)
 Dresden (137) January to March 1807
 Bunzlau (139)
 Glogau (139) one day's stay
 Breslau (141) convoy of money wagons
 Kalisch (141)
 Posen (141)
 Gnesen (141) two weeks' stay, then re-
 quisitioning
 Posen (141)
 Fraustatt (147)
 Glogau (147) eve of Easter Sunday
 Hochkirch (147) Easter Sunday, March 29,
 1807
 Schweidnitz (147)
 Neisse (149)
 Breslau (149)
 Kalisch (149)
 Posen (149)
 Gnesen (149)

Inowrazlav (149)
 Thorn (149)
 Through Pomerania (149)
 Belgard (149)
 Besieging Colberg (151)
 Stettin (151) two days' stay in the hos-
 pital
 Besieging Colberg (153) three to four
 weeks; night of Whitsunday, May 17-18,
 1807
 Belgard (155)
 Through Pomerania and Poland (157)
 Breslau (157)
 Kalisch (157)
 Frankenstein (157)
 Reichenbach (157) June 1807
 Besieging Silberberg (157) two weeks
 Besieging Glatz (157) two weeks and a few
 days
 Reichenbach (161)
 Frankfort-on-the-Oder (161)
 Stargard and
 Fürstenwalde and
 Beeskow (161) eleven weeks
 Plauen (165)
 Nuremberg (165)
 Bayreuth (165)
 Ansbach (165)
 Dinkelsbühl (165)
 Weiltingen (165)
 Ellwangen (165)

CAMPAIGN OF 1809

[Ellwangen]
 Stuttgart (167)
 Toward Schorndorf (167) see note 340
 Stuttgart (167)
 Hechingen (167)
 Killerthal (167)
 Saulgau (167)
 Altshausen (167)
 Weingarten (167)
 Ravensburg (167)
 Hofen (167) see note 346
 Buchhorn (169) see note 346

Lindau (169)
 Bregenz (177) after the armistice of Znaim,
 July 12, 1809. See notes 366 and 367.
 Three weeks' stay, but see note 371
 Dornbirn (179) three weeks; departure in
 October 1809, but see note 376
 Wangen (181)
 Ravensburg (181)
 Altdorf (181) see note 377
 Waldsee (181)
 Biberach (181)
 Ellwangen (183)

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